

Curtis committee wins rights victory

BY SHELLIA KENNEDY

DES MOINES, Iowa — "We have won a victory today, both for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and for constitutional rights," civil liberties lawyer Mark Bennett told more than a dozen supporters outside the courtroom of Polk County Judge Arthur Gamble September 28.

Bennett had just come from a hearing before Judge Gamble on a motion filed by the committee. The motion asked for a court ruling protecting defense committee treasurer Julia Terrell from undergoing open-ended questioning under oath about the committee, its contributors, and its finances.

The demand for the sworn testimony came up in a lawsuit filed against Mark Curtis, a unionist and political activist, serving 25-years in prison on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. The suit was filed by Keith and Denise Morris, the parents of the young woman he was accused of attacking, and seeks massive financial penalties against Curtis. The trial in the case was held on July 9.

After the trial, Stuart Pepper, the attorney for the Morris, demanded Terrell's testimony. He argued that the defense committee is a "subterfuge," set up only to provide a secret "bank" for Curtis. Therefore, he claimed, the funds raised by the committee should be used to pay a judgment against Curtis — crippling the ability of the committee to carry out its defense campaign.

The judge had agreed and given Pepper until September 30 to question Terrell.

Judge Gamble is a circuit judge, traveling from city to city to hear cases, and was scheduled to be out of town. The hearing was to be heard by Judge Peter Keller. However, after reading the legal papers submitted by Bennett arguing for the order against the deposition, Gamble decided to return to Des Moines to hear the arguments himself.

In addition to Bennett representing the defense committee, Curtis' attorneys Bill Kutmus and George Eichhorn attended. Pepper, the Morris' lawyer, did not attend. He

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Militant/Margrethe Siem
Militant sales in New York. Supporters of the socialist press have begun an eight-week international drive to win 7,800 new readers. Stepped-up efforts to sign up new subscribers are needed to put the campaign on schedule. See story on page 5.

U.S. seeks UN cover for military invasion of Iraq

BY SELVA NEBBIA

As Washington escalates its war preparations in the Arab East, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker told an October 3 press conference that there is "more willingness" from other governments than Washington had expected to back a possible U.S. war against Iraq.

A few days earlier, U.S. President George Bush's national security advisor, Brent Scowcroft, asserted that it was conceivable that the United States would seek another

**Cuba's ambassador speaks at
UN Security Council on war
moves in Arab East, page 6.**

United Nations Security Council resolution explicitly allowing the use of military force.

Meanwhile, the total number of U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf region and surrounding waters has reached 170,000.

On October 2 Washington's aircraft carrier *Independence* arrived in the Persian Gulf, accompanied by its battle group and four minesweepers. It was only the second time a U.S. aircraft carrier has ever entered the Gulf.



U.S. troops carrying Sidewinder missile at Saudi air base

U.S. troop deployment in the Arab East began following the August 2 Iraqi invasion of neighboring Kuwait. Over the past two months, Washington has succeeded in involving some 25 other countries in an international armed force with the stated purpose

of achieving the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and returning to his throne the Kuwaiti monarch, Sheik Jaber al-Ahmad al-Sabah, removed by Iraq's forces.

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British miners, int'l group end dispute

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — Meeting in Paris September 17-19, the executive of the International Miners' Organisation voted unanimously to endorse an agreement with the British National Union of Mineworkers. The agreement concerns funds that were donated by the official Soviet miners' union to the IMO during the 1984-85 British miners' strike.

Ownership of the money has been under dispute since the media launched a witch-hunt against NUM leaders Arthur Scargill and Peter Heathfield.

Newspaper and television reports in March first claimed that money from the Soviet Union intended for striking British miners had been used by Scargill and Heathfield for their own benefit. A union-commissioned inquiry led by attorney Gavin Lightman cleared Scargill and Heathfield of the allegations of misappropriation of funds.

Lightman, however, initiated his own charges. While his report found no substance to the claims that Scargill and Heathfield had their fingers in the till, Lightman argued that monies raised in the Soviet Union for striking miners in Britain had wrongly been paid to the IMO.

Under Lightman's advice, the NUM executive took legal action against the IMO, and against Scargill and Heathfield. The legal initiative sought "retrieval" of the NUM's money and punitive damages against the two union leaders. Scargill and Heathfield were excluded from the meeting that decided on the course Lightman proposed.

Following the executive's decision, the witch-hunt against Scargill and Heathfield and the attacks against the union accelerated. Slanders in the press intensified. Opponents of Scargill and Heathfield called for their resignation. Scotland Yard announced that the Fraud Squad was interviewing people, including members of a newly established Soviet miners' organization, as part of investigations that could lead to criminal prosecution of the two union leaders. The government's union certification officer announced prosecution of the union and its national officers under a 1974 law concerning the submission of accurate financial accounts.

The executive's legal action was suspended when a four-person team assigned to

work with Lightman attempted to reach an agreement outside of the courts between the NUM and the IMO. After meetings between representatives of the two organizations, an agreement was reached recognizing that the money rightfully belonged to the IMO and that the IMO make a donation to the NUM of £742,000 (£1=US\$1.88). Because of its strike in 1984-85, the NUM had previously received donations from the IMO totaling £960,000.

The NUM executive endorsed the agreement September 10 by unanimous vote. The executive also called a special delegate conference of the union on October 10 at which the witch-hunt and the Lightman report would be considered.

Following the executive meeting, the executive of the South Wales area of the union continued its anti-Scargill stance and called for his resignation. But at meetings around the country called by NUM branches, Women Against Pit Closures, or the National Justice for Mineworkers Campaign, at which Scargill and Heathfield have been able to present the facts, rank-and-file miners have

supported the national officials.

A resignation call made by Labour Party member of Parliament, Kevin Barron, an ex-officio member of the NUM executive, resulted in his being censured by the Yorkshire Area Council of the union.

The IMO's endorsement of the agreement is a further rebuff to opponents of Scargill and Heathfield. In addition, the IMO executive unanimously passed a motion of confidence in the IMO officers — Scargill, Heathfield, and General Secretary Alain Simon. Chief Soviet representative Nikolai Cherbyshev, who abstained on the IMO-NUM agreement, supported the vote of confidence. Another leader of the official Soviet miners' union, Victor Lunyov, was nominated as an IMO vice-president.

After the agreement, Scargill said he believed it had been a waste of money for the NUM executive to have taken legal action, estimated to have cost the union over £300,000. At a 70-strong meeting of miners at Armthorpe in South Yorkshire September 23, he said that it would have been "better

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Eastern's troubles will deepen 'as long as we continue strike'

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

Despite court-appointed trustee Martin Shugrue's latest efforts to revive Eastern Airlines, the carrier's situation continues to plummet and the strike by 8,500 Machinists continues to gain in strength and solidarity.

"You're not allowed to fly First Class. So you book coach, you fly coach. But you really want to be up there," reads a full page advertisement by Eastern in the September 24 *New York Times*. Eastern's most recent gimmick, aimed at bringing back the business traveler, offers first-class service at coach fare. The cost of putting the plan into effect? \$8 million!

At New York's La Guardia Airport, Eastern strikers beefed up their picket lines on October 1, the opening day of Eastern's "first class" flights. "We had between 10 and 20

people on the picket line throughout the day and, at any point, we had more people on the picket line outside than Eastern had at its counter inside buying tickets," said Ernie Mailhot, a staff strike coordinator and member of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 1018.

"This is just part of the show that Martin Shugrue is putting on. He knows that as long as we continue the strike, nothing he does, including spending \$8 million for first-class leather seats, will turn a failing Eastern Airlines around," Mailhot continued.

Strike activities show resolve

This determination has been echoed by the recent activities of Eastern strikers in a number of cities. In Baltimore, striking Machin-

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Mohawks face prosecution in Canada

BY ROBERT SIMMS

MONTREAL, Québec — More than 100 Mohawks who stood up for 11 weeks to the Québec and Canadian governments now face criminal prosecution for their actions in defense of their land and rights.

The charges stem from the stand-off between the two Mohawk communities of Kanesatake and Kahnawake near Montréal and the Canadian Army and Québec provincial police — the Sûreté du Québec (SQ). The standoff began when the Mohawk's held off a July 11 attack by hundreds of heavily armed police on barricades erected by the Natives at Kanesatake to prevent expansion of an exclusive golf course onto their traditional burial grounds. One of the cops was killed in the crossfire.

More than 40 of those charged are men and women who held out in a Kanesatake treatment center surrounded by 400 soldiers for 25 days following the army's invasion of the community September 1. All have pleaded not guilty to the charges facing them.

Most of the Native rights fighters face multiple charges ranging from obstruction of justice and illegal participation in a riot to possession of a firearm for a purpose dangerous to the public peace. Possible sentences, if convicted, range from two to 10 years in jail. Native people now face "a huge legal battle," to defend the Mohawks said Mike Myers of the Haudenosaunee (Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy) Crisis Committee.

weapons at the protesters. Several Natives were injured in the fighting. "We just want the army out of here," one Mohawk explained. "They have no business being here."

Four Mohawks taken into army detention from the Kanesatake encampment were beaten. Forced to lean with their foreheads to a wall, soldiers kicked their feet out from under them scraping their heads on the wall as they fell. Soldiers also held rifle muzzles against the Mohawk's heads, pretended to load their guns, and then pulled the trigger.

Ronald Cross is one of several Mohawks held by the SQ contrary to army assurances. (The SQ has carried out systematic beatings and even torture of Mohawks.) Cross appeared in court the day after the siege with his face puffy and badly bruised from beatings by police. He was charged with 22 alleged offenses.

The Mohawks' battle for land and restoration of their historic right of self-government now enters a new phase of defending, politically and legally, the fighters formally charged by the Québec and Canadian governments.

From the beginning of the 11-week armed standoff the besieged Mohawks, the Iroquois Confederacy, and the Canada-wide Assembly of First Nations made numerous proposals to

resolve the dispute through peaceful negotiations. All their proposals were rejected by both the federal and Québec governments. Instead, when Mohawks took down a solidarity barricade at the nearby Kahnawake reserve on August 28 as a sign of good faith, the government sent in the army to invade both Kanesatake and Kahnawake.

Solidarity protests

More than 150 demonstrators turned out in the rain September 29 at the Farnham military base 35 miles southeast of Montréal where the Kanesatake Mohawk fighters are being held prisoner. They chanted "Free the Mohawks" and "Army out of Mohawk territory."

One of the speakers was Pierre Vallières, a well-known militant Québec nationalist and leader of Native solidarity efforts. "We must demand freedom for the Mohawk political prisoners, the dropping of all charges, and an end to police-military repression against the Mohawks," he said. "The police charges against them are going to multiply; we have to multiply our solidarity. Our own freedom as Québécois depends on it."

At a Militant Labor Forum in Montréal the same day, Don Martin, a spokesperson for the Mohawk Nation Office in Kahnawake, said the Mohawks had made substantial progress

in overcoming the legacy of the colonial domination of Native people. "The people in our community feel good. They know that what they did was necessary," he emphasized.

Referring to the 11-week confrontation with the army and the Québec police, Martin added, "We don't want to have to do it again. But if we are put into the same position, we will. In the future, we will win our goals" of land and sovereignty. "It's not a question of if we do it; we will win our goals," he said.

Simone Berg, Communist League candidate for Montréal city council, a garment worker, and organizer of the Young Socialists in Montréal also spoke at the forum. "The ultimate target of the government with this intimidation by court trials and jail sentences is not just the Mohawk people; it's you and me and any working person who stands up for their rights," she explained. "We can begin the fight for independent working class political action by winning our unions and other organizations for full support to the Mohawks' just demands and opposition to the racist terror being waged against them."

"We must also demand an end to the daily violations of their democratic rights and the dropping of all the charges against the Mohawks," Berg stressed. "They're not criminals. They're fighters for justice and liberty."

'Militant' announces staff changes

'Our mission accomplished'

On September 26 the Mohawks, encircled at the treatment center, concluded there was nothing further to be won by holding out. "Our mission is accomplished," said Robert Skidder, one of the Mohawk leaders in the encampment. Gains for both Mohawks and Natives across Canada were registered through their struggle, the Native fighters said, and national and international support and recognition of their cause had been garnered.

After weeks of a massive military deployment, threats by government officials, and racist mobilizations against the Mohawks, the army hoped the Natives would unconditionally surrender and turn over their weapons.

Instead, the Mohawks burned their weapons in a huge bonfire and then threw stretchers and plywood boards across the barbed-razor wire surrounding their treatment center and came out in places the army least expected. Soldiers chased after the Mohawk men, women, and children. They pushed, shoved, and kicked them to the ground in a dozen skirmishes. All but one of the Mohawks were captured and arrested.

In Kahnawake, more than 400 Natives, who had watched the army violence on TV, came out to protest the attack at Kanesatake and the ongoing occupation of their reserve by hundreds of soldiers.

Army soldiers fired tear gas and at one point officers gave the soldiers the order to aim their

With this issue the *Militant* announces several changes in our staff. *Militant* editor Doug Jenness has become business manager; staff writer Greg McCartan has been named editor; and business manager Janet Post will join the editorial staff as a copy editor.

Editorial staff member Arthur Hughes, who has been a copy editor since 1982, has joined the business and promotions department of Pathfinder Press.

Over the past several years the *Militant* has expanded its circulation around the world. Becoming more of an international socialist weekly than ever before, supporters now distribute the paper in an organized fashion in eight countries. In several other countries individual *Militant* readers also introduce the paper to working people and political activists.

In addition, important battles by working people seeking to use union power to defend their interests have broken out in the United States, Canada, Britain, and other countries in the last months. As a result, the *Militant* has increasingly become the newspaper of a layer of fighting unionists.

Among airline workers — especially those who have been on strike against Eastern — mine workers in North America and Britain who are resisting assaults by the employers and their governments, farm workers, packinghouse workers, and other unionists,

the *Militant* is an important weapon in the struggle. Many have found the accurate news and regular analysis about their battles, as well as the world perspective presented in the paper, a needed component of the fight.

Expanding the circulation of the *Militant*, getting it quickly delivered to cities in eight countries for supporters to distribute, organizing international teams to reach out to new areas with the publication, and other new challenges have all widened the scope of responsibilities of the business and circulation side of the paper. Another goal of these moves is the integration of this aspect of the production, promotion, and circulation of a socialist weekly with the work of the paper's staff as a whole.

Jenness, 48, has been an editor of the *Militant* several times in the past 20 years. Most recently he became editor in 1986. Prior to that he was the editor of *Intercontinental Press*, an international biweekly magazine, before it merged with the *Militant*. His experience as editor of both publications will aid the continued professionalization and international expansion of the *Militant*.

As a unionist and activist in the labor movement in Portland, Oregon, Post — who is 40 years old — wrote articles on union struggles, environmental protests, and other political developments in the Pacific Northwest prior to joining the business staff last

spring. Along with other *Militant* supporters she traveled to Alaska to report on the giant oil spill of the Exxon Valdez.

Hughes, 46, will take up responsibilities in the organization of Pathfinder Press sales and promotional work. Pathfinder, the leading publisher in the United States of books by and about revolutionary working class leaders, labor struggles, and Marxism, has been stretched to meet the challenge posed by a growth in its sales over the past year. Hughes will be helping to further professionalize and expand the business operations to meet the new demands.

Prior to joining the *Militant*, McCartan, 33, was a textile worker and member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in North Carolina, and an aircraft assembler, belonging to the International Association of Machinists in Georgia. A leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, McCartan was the organization's national chairperson in 1988-89. Since joining the *Militant* staff McCartan participated in a reporting team to Zimbabwe and Zambia. Last spring he also participated in a three-person team to South Africa to report on the new stage of the struggle against apartheid. Following the trip McCartan edited a compilation of speeches by African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, published by Pathfinder as *Nelson Mandela: Speeches 1990*.

'I read the *Militant* to find out what's going on with the labor movement and around the world. It covers the real issues that affect the lives of working people.'

LEONARD BRYANT

Member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1210 in Philadelphia on strike against Greyhound.



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The Militant

Closing news date: October 3, 1990

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Published weekly except the last two weeks of December by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Fax 727-0150; Telex, 497-4278; Business Office, (212) 929-3486. Nicaragua Bureau, Apartado 2222, Managua. Telephone 24845.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$45, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80. Canada: send Canadian \$50 for one-year subscription to Société d'Éditions AGPP, C.P. 340, succ. R, Montréal, Québec H2S 3M2. Britain, Ireland, Africa: £28 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Continental Europe: £35 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. Australia, Asia, Pacific: send Australian \$60 to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 79, Railway Square Post Office, Railway Square, Sydney 2000, Australia.

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European tour of Cuban economist to begin in Denmark

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — Cuban economist and author Carlos Tablada will start a six-week tour of Britain and the Nordic countries of northern Europe on October 17. He is currently scheduled to speak at lectures and meetings in 20 cities in seven countries.

Speaking on "Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism in Cuba Today," Tablada will present the course advocated by Ernesto Che Guevara, a leader of the Cuban revolution who was murdered in Bolivia in 1967, and its relevance to the current rectification process in Cuba.

The tour is being organized by Pathfinder, the publisher of Tablada's book *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*. The book won the Casa de las Américas prize in 1987.

Pathfinder has organized successful tours for Tablada in Canada in 1989, and in the United States earlier this year. Audiences during the two North American tours totaled some 5,000 people. Tablada spoke at universities, attended receptions, met with striking trade unionists, and gave press interviews. "We anticipate a similar reception for Dr. Tablada when he comes to Europe," said Pathfinder's London representative, Alan Harris.

Tablada's tour starts in Denmark. He will then travel to Sweden, the Faeroe Islands, Iceland, Norway, and Finland. Catharina

Tirsén, representative of the Pathfinder bookstore in Stockholm, Sweden, says the tour of Tablada is the most ambitious project Pathfinder has undertaken in the region.

Excellent response

"We have found an excellent response to Tablada's visit," Tirsén said. "In Sweden we have invitations for him to speak at the Research Political Institute of the University of Lund, the Latin America Seminar at the University of Uppsala, the Latin American Institute at the University of Stockholm, and the departments of sociology, political science, and education at the University of Umea.

"The Writers Union of Sweden has organized a special breakfast and visits to workplaces, meetings with unionists, and press conferences are planned. He will also speak at public meetings in Lund, Malmö, Gothenburg, and Stockholm," Tirsén said.

Tirsén reports that in Norway Tablada will speak at the Institute for Development and Environment at the University of Oslo. A public meeting sponsored by Pathfinder, the Norwegian-Cuba Association, and others will be held.

A similar tour has been scheduled in Finland, where the Cuban author will give a lecture at the Ibero-American Institute at the University of Helsinki and speak at a public meeting cosponsored by Pathfinder and the



Carlos Tablada speaking at Simon Frazier University in Vancouver, British Columbia, in November 1989. He is slated to speak in 20 cities in seven countries during European tour.

Finnish-Cuban Association.

Gylfi Pall Hersir is responsible for organizing Tablada's tour in Iceland and the Faeroe Islands. In a telephone interview Hersir said that Tablada has been invited to speak at the Economics Faculty at the University of Iceland and at Froðskaparsetrið, the higher educational institute of the Faeroe Islands, in Thorshavn, the capital city. He will also speak at public meetings sponsored by Pathfinder

and the Cuba friendship societies in the two countries.

Harris reports that Pathfinder has received invitations for Tablada to speak at 13 prominent academic centers in Britain, including Oxford University and the London School of Economics.

"Tablada has also been invited to speak at a major conference on the Third World debt in London on December 1, organized by Labour Party Member of Parliament Jeremy Corbyn and the Campaign for Non-Alignment, and he will speak at four meetings sponsored by Pathfinder bookshops in Cardiff, London, Manchester, and Sheffield," Harris said. "The Britain Cuba Resource Centre has given the tour its backing, and we have started to receive sponsorship for events during the tour from the labor movement."

"Labour MPs Mark Fisher and Denis Cavan have sent letters welcoming Tablada to the country," Harris said. "Two prominent officials of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, John Tocher in Manchester and George Anthony in North London, have given their personal support, in addition to the union's Manchester District Committee and the shop stewards committee at the Shardlow's engineering factory in Sheffield.

"Noel Harris — a national leader of ACTT, the cinema and television technicians union — and branches of the RMT rail union have endorsed, and a member of the RMT national executive committee, Mick Atherton, added his name to the sponsorship list.

"Among supporters of the tour in the National Union of Mineworkers is Frank Cave, a member of the union's national executive, and the Rossington branch in the union's Yorkshire Area," Harris added. The Yorkshire Area of the NUM regularly sends a member to participate in the annual José Martí Brigade to Cuba from Britain.

Farm workers discuss challenges by employers to organizing fields

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

WOODLAKE, California — Hundreds of supporters of the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) gathered at the rodeo grounds here September 9 to celebrate the continuing broadcasts of KUFW — Radio Campesina.

The concert and dance were part of an effort to raise \$100,000 to keep Radio Campesina on the air following an April arson attack. By the end of July the station was again broadcasting music and news of special interest to farm workers over a five-county area of the San Joaquin Valley. Radio Campesina says it is listened to by 400,000 people.

Anthony Chavez, the general manager of the station, said, "The station likes to create struggles. We encourage farm workers who are victimized by the growers to come on the air and tell their stories. That's why they burned us down."

The farm workers event here followed the UFW's 10th constitutional convention held September 2 near Delano. Defending and expanding Radio Campesina, along with other farm worker struggles, were topics discussed by some 500 delegates representing 30,000 workers covered by UFW contracts, most of which are in California.

Dolores Huerta, first vice-president of the UFW, reported to the convention for the crops division dealing with organizing and contracts. She presented information on a number of important struggles in the fields.

Growers block union certification

In the report, and a subsequent interview in Woodlake, she said that while the union has been successful in winning new members in the fields through representation elections and strike activities, the growers, together with the California Agricultural Labor Relations Board (CALRB), have often been able to block certification of the union and stall the signing of new contracts.

In Stockton, for example, 1,500 vegetable workers went on strike at Triple E, Ace, and Joaquin Tomato. They voted for the UFW in an election but are still waiting for certification from the CALRB.

In Fresno, where 3,000 grape workers at the Garawan fields voted for UFW representation, certification and a contract have also been held up by the board. This struggle, which began in May, involves workers who

clear \$20 a week after company deductions for transportation, hot water, cashing paychecks, identification cards, mattresses, and other necessities.

At the Sunnyside Nursery in Salinas, the union had a contract and was attempting to negotiate a new pact. The company refused to negotiate, fired workers for their union activities, sexually harassed female farm workers, physically assaulted a female picket, and attempted to decertify the union.

A similar situation exists at Dole where 400 workers are paid \$2 an hour. Mostly from Oaxaca, Mexico, they have voted for the union but are still waiting for the board to act.

Poison in the fields

At the convention, UFW President Cesar Chavez discussed the central campaign of the UFW, the grape boycott launched in the mid-1980s to protest the use of cancer-causing pesticides by the growers. He also demanded fair elections in the fields.

Chavez cited government statistics that

measured how many pounds of grapes are delivered for sale to major cities in North America. Recent figures from *State Federal Market News*, he said, report that "grape terminal unloads" from May to August 1990 dropped substantially in 12 out of 15 cities researched compared to the same time period in 1989.

On September 11, Chavez and some 100 supporters, including several Eastern Airlines strikers, participated in a picket in front of Tianguis supermarket in Los Angeles. The action was organized to protest a court injunction that prohibits picketing, leafleting, or standing near any Von's supermarket, or its Tianguis subsidiary. Von's recently backed out of a pledge to stop promoting grapes sprayed with toxic pesticides.

Chavez charged that the court injunction was an infringement on his First Amendment rights. He said that it was the broadest injunction he had seen issued in his 40 years of struggle. Shortly after the picket began he was arrested for violating the injunction.

1,700 workers end strike at BC Rail in Canada

BY NED DMYTRYSHYN

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — After a 25-day strike at BC Rail, members of several unions voted September 28 to accept a provincial mediator's report and proposals by a 755-646 vote.

Some 1,700 BC Rail workers set up picket lines September 4 at 30 of the company's locations across the province of British Columbia, on Canada's west coast.

A joint council of seven unions, including the United Transportation Union (UTU), engineers and maintenance-of-way workers of the Canadian Union of Transportation Employees, the Teamsters, the Canadian Auto Workers, the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry, and one other union were all involved in the strike and negotiations. They demanded greater control over the ability of the company to contract out work.

Other issues in the strike included a decent wage increase and protection from the effects of a 7 percent goods and services tax to be introduced across Canada next year. BC Rail

also demanded concessions in order to do away with cabooses and eliminate conductor pilots from the UTU's collective agreement.

The railway is the third largest in Canada. Some 500 industrial and commercial operations, which employ 100,000 workers, depend on the railway to move their raw materials and finished products. These include many mines and forestry companies. Some 70 percent of the freight moved from the interior of British Columbia to the coast and back is hauled by BC Rail.

Clyde Mulhall, chairman of the joint council and representative of the UTU, explained in an interview that the UTU will be hardest hit by the mediator's proposals, which could result in the elimination of more than 100 jobs.

Mulhall said that 1,300 jobs have been lost at BC Rail since 1979 through technological change, attrition, and contracting out. In 1989, \$15 million of work was contracted out, affecting 100 workers.

The plumbers' union and the UTU are challenging the mediator's report in the Canadian Supreme Court. They assert the vote

accepting the report violates an individual union's right to veto a proposed agreement.

British Columbia's antilabor laws require a vote of all BC Rail workers on the mediator's report. The outcome of the vote decides if the report becomes the agreement between the company and the unions, even if individual unions oppose it. Plumbers and members of the UTU voted overwhelmingly against the mediator's report.

The agreement includes a \$600 settlement payment and two annual wage increases of 7.5 percent. Previous agreements on contracting out work were replaced with provisions granting unions some say in contracting-out decisions. If, however, the unions oppose a contracting-out decision by the company because of job losses and can not come to an agreement with BC Rail, then the case will go to the provincial mediator for binding arbitration.

Negotiations on cabooses and conductor pilots have been ordered to continue. If no agreement has been reached by March 31, 1991, a settlement will be issued through binding arbitration.

New backing won at Paris "L'Humanité" festival

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who was framed by police on rape and burglary charges. He was convicted in September 1988

the case or how you can help, write the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311; telephone (515) 246-1695. If you have news or reports on

He was also a longtime correspondent for *L'Humanité* in the United States.

Alleg was imprisoned and tortured for his active opposition to France's war against the Algerian independence movement in the 1950s. While in prison he wrote *The Question*, a book about the torture of independence fighters carried out by French authorities in Algeria that shocked French public opinion.

Jean-Louis Fournier, the general secretary of the Metalworkers Union of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), also endorsed, as did Serge Biard of the Billancourt 10. Biard was one of 10 workers fired for union activities in 1986 at the big Renault auto plant outside Paris. The CGT waged a national campaign on behalf of the 10.

Other endorsers included the Association for Human Rights in Morocco; I.A. Amer, a leader of the Sudanese CP; representatives from the two Communist Parties of Britain and the Palestinian CP; and a leader from the French Union of Communist Students.

Hundreds of pieces of Curtis defense committee literature were distributed at the event by supporters.

Denis Stefano, financial secretary of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Local 8-234, chaired a September 22 meeting to build support for Curtis in Philadelphia. The event raised more than \$1,300 toward the \$20,000 United Nations fund set by the defense committee.

The fund will help pay the expenses of recent trips to UN meetings in Geneva, Switzerland, and Havana, Cuba, by Kate Kaku, a leader of the defense committee and Curtis' wife, and John Studer, the coordinator of the defense committee. The trips are part of a long-term effort to win UN backing for Curtis' fight.

The Philadelphia meeting, held at the Ethical Society Building, featured a panel that included Hazel Zimmerman, representing the defense committee in Des Moines; Jill Kobeissi, a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 1776; Linda Flammer, a member of the Graduate Students Employees Association on strike against Temple University; and Maureen Coletta, a local Curtis supporter who made the fund appeal.

Messages of support were sent to the meeting by Barry Trachtenberg, president of the Student Government Association of Glassboro Col-

lege in New Jersey; Jim Bolger, an Eastern Airlines striker and member of Machinists Local 1776; and John Kostasich, an executive board member of Local 1776.

Thus far \$12,500 has been raised toward the \$20,000 goal. Contributions are still needed and can be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Tax-deductible contributions should be made out to Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc.

Nine delegates at the 24th convention of the International Union of Electronic Workers September 14-17 in Detroit, Michigan, endorsed the Curtis defense campaign. Union members who support the defense committee distributed literature and spoke with more than 50 delegates. Many delegates remembered hearing about Curtis' fight at an IUE convention two years ago. They were surprised and disappointed to learn that he is still behind bars. All were impressed with the defense committee campaign to win UN support.

Derek Jeffers from Paris and Judi Chertov and Richard Gaeta from Philadelphia contributed to this week's column.

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!



and is now serving a 25-year sentence in the John Bennett state prison in Fort Madison, Iowa.

Despite harassment by authorities, he continues to be politically active in prison and refuses to be isolated from the world beyond the prison walls.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee, based in Des Moines, is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis and to defend his rights in prison. More than 8,000 unionists, defenders of democratic rights, political activists, prominent officials, and others — from the Philippines to Sweden, from South Africa to Canada — have endorsed the committee's efforts.

For more information about

activities in support of Mark Curtis from your city or country, please send them to the *Militant*.

New support for Curtis' fight for justice was won at the annual *Fête de l'Humanité* September 14-16 in Paris. The event — sponsored by *L'Humanité*, the French Communist Party daily newspaper — attracted several hundred thousand visitors.

Forty-nine people endorsed the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, and more than 540 francs (US\$105) were raised for the defense effort.

Henri Alleg, a well-known anti-colonialist and human rights figure, is among those who signed up. He is a leader of the French CP and was formerly a leader of the Algerian CP.

Curtis defense scores democratic rights victory

Continued from front page

placed a call to the judge's chambers, and the hearing was conducted on the phone.

Because of the limited number of phones available, Kutmus and Eichhorn were not able to participate in the proceedings. The judge instead gave the lawyers periodic updates on the discussions. The hearing was not recorded by a court reporter, also due to the lack of phones.

Judge Gamble rejected Pepper's argument that he be allowed to conduct a sweeping investigation into the defense committee and its finances. Gamble agreed with Bennett that such broad intrusion into the committee's affairs would be a serious violation of the constitutional rights of the committee, its contributors, and its members to free political association.

The judge ruled that Terrell's testimony would occur, but questioning would be severely limited in scope.

In legal papers submitted with the motion for a protective order, Terrell stated that the "decisions by the committee concerning the allocation and expenditure of funds raised to advance the work of the committee are made by its officers and approved by weekly meetings of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee."

"Mark Curtis has absolutely no control over how the funds of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee are spent," she added.

"It is my opinion and belief that the Mark Curtis Defense Committee would not authorize the expenditure of any funds of the Committee to pay any judgment entered against Mark Curtis," she concluded.

The judge ruled that Pepper could ask Terrell whether this statement was true.

In addition, the judge ruled that Pepper could ask how much money the defense committee had provided Curtis and any of his family members for their personal use.

He ruled, however, that no questions could be asked concerning the general finances of the committee, committee decisions concerning the use of the funds it raises, or contributors' names.

Terrell's testimony is now scheduled for October 9.

Support for defense committee

Dozens of organizations and individuals have responded to this threat to democratic rights by sending messages of solidarity to the defense committee, including a number of other defense committees.

Many unionists also sent messages. Ross Boyers, president of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 50N in Marshalltown, Iowa, wrote, "The courts' latest attempt to intrude into the private records of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee is appalling. Exposing the private records of the committee is a violation of their freedom of association and privacy."

Dozens of Eastern Airlines strikers at LaGuardia Airport in New York sent a joint statement to the committee protesting the legal attack. Ernie Mailhot, strike coordinator of Machinists Local 1018, sent in the message and a contribution. "Some of us have been supporters of Mark Curtis' defense for some time," he wrote. "Others did not know



Militant/Margaret Jayko



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Mark Curtis Defense Committee leaders Julia Terrell and John Studer

very much about Mark's frame-up. Everyone, however, was glad to sign."

Civil rights leaders also lent their support. Fred Taylor wrote for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference: "This [message] comes to state the outrage and the disgust I feel relative to the attack against the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. It is evident that the power structure of this nation is attempting to develop a 'hit' list of individuals who are sensitive and supportive of political pris-

oners as Mark. This type of intimidation must not be allowed to prevail."

A number of unionists and other supporters of political rights, including the entire executive board of United Auto Workers Local 270, attended the hearing.

"This victory against the attempt to pry into the records of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee upholds the constitutional guarantees of the right to association and privacy," John Studer, coordinator of the defense committee, told supporters. "Rebuffing this assault, in the course of fighting the harassment lawsuit, is an important step in the defense of political rights. But the fight continues against the harassment lawsuit against Curtis, which aims to break him and make him and his wife Kate Kaku pay damages the rest of their lives."

Studer noted that the Morris' attorney continues to argue that the committee is a fake and that they should be entitled to the funds that it raises.

"Until the judge rules on the overall case supporters of the fight should continue to be on guard to new threats to the rights of the defense committee and to the rights of all political organizations," Studer said. "We have to continue to win public messages supporting the fight we are waging."

Messages, and contributions to cover the costs involved in fighting against the attack on the rights of the committee, can be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Contributions can be earmarked "Defense Committee Defense."

S. African fighters describe building ANC

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

LOS ANGELES — "Today we can understand more clearly what Nelson Mandela meant when he told us that the last mile will also be the most difficult one in the march against apartheid," Lisa Ahlberg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress told the audience of 50 people at the Militant Labor Forum here September 22.

Ahlberg, a local activist in the fight against apartheid, chaired the meeting which featured presentations by four members of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Nkululeko Sowazi, a student at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), read two statements issued by the ANC's National Executive Committee after a meeting September 18-20.

The ANC criticized the government for its hands-off policy toward the wave of violence in Natal and the Transvaal area and the

statement noted that the government hopes this will "generate a climate of insecurity, fear, and terror, and thus make a decisive majority of our people more amenable to an authoritarian regime."

Following Sowazi's presentation, UCLA student Suren Moodliar described his experiences over the past months in South Africa. "I went home in May as a supporter of the ANC," he said, "but I return now as a member."

Moodliar pointed to the ANC's ability today to recruit in the rural areas where it has been weak in the past. This is not without difficulties, he said, because "the small town policemen don't really understand that the ANC is unbanned," and ANC organizers still face some repression.

"Despite these difficulties," Moodliar continued, "recruitment is proceeding faster than expected." He described how he and other organizers went house to house to recruit the

100 members necessary to begin an ANC branch. Every branch which has at least 20 women members also establishes a Women's League organization. This is possible, he said, because in most cases women make up half of all new recruits.

Zeph Makgetla, a member of the ANC's southern California branch, pointed to Nelson Mandela's June visit to the United States and said it was a success because "it got Mandela's message across" and "showed what we can do" in the fight against apartheid. "You," Makgetla told the forum, "are part and parcel of digging the grave and putting apartheid to rest."

Women and antiapartheid struggle

Paula Levinrad, secretary of the regional Women's League of the ANC in the United States, reported on the launching of the ANC Women's League in Durban on South African Women's Day, August 9.

'Militant' supporters set sales target week

BY RONI McCANN

On September 22 *Militant* supporters around the world began an eight-week circulation campaign to sign up 7,800 new readers to the socialist press by getting out to working-class communities and picket lines, factory gates and mine portals, and college campuses.

After one week the campaign stands a little behind schedule, but by picking up the pace of our efforts to win new subscribers we can build up the momentum and "sales drive spirit" needed to win thousands of new readers to the socialist publications by November 17.

The goals of the sales drive are challenging. *Militant* supporters aim to win 5,000 new subscribers to the paper along with 1,225 to *Perspectiva Mundial* and 325 to *Lutte ouvrière*. Additionally they plan to sell 1,250 copies of the Marxist magazines *New Internationalist* and *Nouvelle Internationale*.

To achieve those goals supporters around the world have mapped out eight-week action plans in dozens of cities that include regional teams, weekend sales, and getting in touch with current subscribers to encourage them to renew.

An international target week — during which supporters will redouble their efforts to win new readers — has been set for October 20-27. In the next few weeks supporters can build on our initial success to get on schedule and come out of the target week on a solid footing.

The first day of the target week coincides with nationally-coordinated actions in the United States to protest the U.S. war moves in the Mideast. These events — from marches and rallies in New York and San Francisco to picket lines and teach-ins — will draw thousands of young people, workers, and activists. Many participants will want to sign up to get the *Militant* for 12 weeks and get the truth about the massive U.S. military intervention and struggles of working people across the world today.

To help arm workers and farmers worldwide on the facts surrounding the imperialist aggression in the Mideast, Pathfinder will be publishing a new pamphlet documenting Cuba's stand against Washington's war moves and the efforts the Cuban government is making to head off the impending war. The pamphlet, along with an introductory subscription to the *Militant*, will be attractive to many workers, farmers, and youth who are opposed to, or want to learn more about, the growing war threats.

Supporters of the socialist press in San Francisco, who are ahead of schedule, have organized to meet and win new readers every

day — on the job, on a regional team to nearby Watsonville, at three area campuses, in the Pathfinder bookstore, at political events, and in working-class communities.

Next week they will join up with supporters from Los Angeles and Oakland, California, for a week-long sales team in the Salinas Valley. A seven-day sales team of supporters from Seattle; Price, Utah; Oakland; and Vancouver, British Columbia, will also hit the road October 7 for the Yakima Valley in Washington State.

At the United Mine Workers of America convention September 17-25 in Miami Beach, Florida, 13 participants subscribed to the *Militant*, including two miners from Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, recently on strike.

Two Eastern Airlines strikers in Washington, D.C., have renewed their subscriptions to the *Militant* so far during the drive there. At a rally of 1,000 September 25 a member of the carpenters' union subscribed and an Eastern striker from West Virginia explained to a *Militant* salesperson that he had bought a copy of the paper at one of the strikers' anniversary actions in March. He subscribed and renewed since then.

Supporters in Auckland, New Zealand, visited nearby towns of Tokoroa and Rotorua to sell subscriptions to timber and pulp and paper workers the first weekend of the sales drive. Five new *Militant* readers were won. At Waikato University in Hamilton, also near Auckland, eight students signed up to get the paper.

In Australia *Militant* supporters traveled to the coal-mining region near Newcastle September 26-29. Ten miners, and aluminum and steel workers, bought copies of the paper at two portals and two plant gates. Two workers, including a young miner, subscribed to the *Militant* after meeting supporters who were selling door-to-door in their neighborhood.

In Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, an island off Canada's Atlantic coast, 172 workers — including striking coal miners and their families — bought copies of the *Militant* from supporters from Montréal, Toronto, and Boston during a five-day sales team. Nine miners subscribed.

In Selma, California, supporters from Los Angeles and Oakland won two new readers at the plant gate of Harris Ranch Beef the week of September 24 and seven new readers among students at Fresno State University in nearby Fresno. The president of the African Student Union invited supporters to return anytime. Supporters staffed a Pathfinder literature table outside the group's meeting.

Int'l miners group accord

Continued from front page

to have given the money to sacked miners, or a worthy cause like the South African or Philippines miners."

Speaking after the NUM executive meeting, Scargill said, "If there is one lesson to be learned it is the need to unite and fight our enemies, British Coal and the Tories [Conservative Party]."

Following the agreement, Scotland Yard announced it will not pursue its investigations. While these moves have dealt blows to the months-long campaign against the union, IMO officers, NUM leaders, and supporters of the miners' union explain that the attacks will continue. The NUM also faces employer attacks on wages, jobs, and working conditions.

Since the end of the miners' strike in 1985, the employers have shut over 100 pits, axed 140,000 jobs, and increased productivity by over 100 percent. Nearly 15,000 jobs were cut last year and British Coal has announced a further reduction of 7,500 this year.

The union is currently in dispute with the employers over a claim for a £50 per week increase on basic rates decided upon by the NUM annual conference in July. Currently, basic pay amounts to just 54 percent of miners' wages on average. Since 1985 overtime work by surface workers has doubled, and that worked by face workers has tripled. Productivity bonuses have also assumed a larger proportion of total wages, 30 percent

on average. This has resulted in growing differences in miners' pay from one pit to another, or one area to another.

Over the same period, real wages of underground miners have been cut. Take-home pay has not kept pace with the official retail price index. Inflation in Britain is currently 10.6 percent and rising.

The union has been unable to negotiate with British Coal over wages for five years. The employers have insisted on recognizing the antistrike breakaway organization called the Union of Democratic Mineworkers in Nottinghamshire, and not recognizing the NUM there. They demand the NUM's agreement to this precondition for negotiating with the NUM elsewhere.

At the annual conference, the NUM refused these conditions and voted to pursue its wage claim and to call a special delegate conference to decide upon industrial action in the event of an unsatisfactory offer from British Coal.

Motivating this course of action at the conference, Scargill said, "We need to win the hearts and minds of our members by a campaign. If British Coal refuses to talk to us, to concede our legitimate demands, then the responsibility for any industrial action lies with the Tory government and British Coal. We shouldn't shirk away from that in 1990."

The day after the special delegate conference to discuss the witch-hunt and the Lightman inquiry, the union will meet again in a second special delegate conference to discuss the wage claim.



Sales team at antiwar protest in upstate New York September 29 won seven new readers.

Subscription Drive SCOREBOARD

DRIVE GOALS		Total		Militant		Perspectiva Mundial		New Int'l		Lutte ouvrière	
Areas	Goal	Total Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
UNITED STATES											
Greensboro, NC	115	25	22%	85	11	13	7	15	7	2	0
Price, Utah	80	16	20%	55	10	13	6	10	0	2	0
Kansas City	125	20	16%	88	15	10	2	25	3	2	0
San Francisco	175	26	15%	110	12	35	10	25	4	5	0
Detroit	180	22	12%	140	19	10	0	25	1	5	2
Austin, Minn.	90	9	10%	60	8	18	1	10	0	2	0
Seattle	190	19	10%	115	14	48	5	25	0	2	0
Morgantown, WV	155	14	9%	115	14	8	0	30	0	2	0
Miami	200	18	9%	110	14	30	3	40	0	20	1
Chicago	280	25	9%	185	19	45	4	45	1	5	1
Philadelphia	185	16	9%	115	9	38	3	30	4	2	0
St. Louis	205	17	8%	162	17	10	0	30	0	3	0
Cleveland	160	13	8%	115	12	18	1	25	0	2	0
Birmingham, Ala.	170	13	8%	138	12	10	1	20	0	2	0
Salt Lake City	185	13	7%	130	11	23	2	30	0	2	0
Omaha, Neb.	120	8	7%	85	8	18	0	15	0	2	0
Newark, NJ	340	22	6%	180	17	60	5	70	0	30	0
Boston	235	15	6%	140	9	45	6	35	0	15	0
Twin Cities, Minn.	225	14	6%	175	14	17	0	30	0	3	0
New York	520	32	6%	275	12	120	17	95	3	30	0
Atlanta	198	11	6%	135	5	20	5	40	0	3	1
Pittsburgh	130	7	5%	105	7	5	0	18	0	2	0
Los Angeles	400	21	5%	200	10	115	11	80	0	5	0
Brooklyn	345	18	5%	190	10	70	5	60	0	25	3
Oakland, Calif.	190	7	4%	125	5	35	2	25	0	5	0
Des Moines, Iowa	180	6	3%	135	4	25	2	18	0	2	0
Baltimore	155	5	3%	115	5	12	0	25	0	3	0
Phoenix	95	3	3%	55	2	28	1	10	0	2	0
Charleston, WV	135	3	2%	95	3	13	0	25	0	2	0
Houston	145	3	2%	98	3	25	0	20	0	2	0
Washington, DC	150	1	1%	100	1	20	0	23	0	7	0
Cincinnati	17	6	35%	12	4	2	2	3	0	-	0
Ft. Madison, Iowa	10	1	10%	10	1	-	0	-	0	-	0
Las Vegas, Nev.	5	0	0%	5	0	-	0	-	0	-	0
New Haven, Conn.	14	4	29%	10	4	2	0	2	0	-	0
Portland, Ore.	11	3	27%	10	3	1	0	-	0	-	0
Other U.S.	-	0	-	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0
U.S. TOTAL	6,115	456	7%	3,978	324	962	101	979	23	196	8
AUSTRALIA											
BRITAIN											
London	174	18	10%	113	10	15	0	42	8	4	0
Cardiff	58	3	5%	40	3	2	0	15	0	1	0
Manchester	62	3	5%	45	3	1	0	15	0	1	0
Sheffield	100	3	3%	70	3	9	0	20	0	1	0
Other Britain	-	0	-	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0
BRITAIN TOTAL	394	27	7%	268	19	27	0	92	8	7	0
CANADA											
Vancouver	105	17	16%	65	15	15	1	20	1	5	0
Montréal	210	29	14%	75	13	35	6	35	2	65	8
Toronto	155	4	3%	100	3	25	1	25	0	5	0
CANADA TOTAL	470	50	11%	240	31	75	8	80	3	75	8
FAEROE IS.	10	3	30%	10	3	-	0	-	0	-	0
FRANCE	40	0	0%	10	0	5	0	5	0	20	0
ICELAND	43	1	2%	35	1	2	0	5	0	1	0
NEW ZEALAND											
Christchurch	60	17	28%	51	17	2	0	6	0	1	0
Auckland	110	13	12%	91	13	10	0	8	0	1	0
Wellington	70	0	0%	61	0	2	0	6	0	1	0
Other N. Z.	10	0	0%	9	0	1	0	-	0	-	0
N. Z. TOTAL	250	30	12%	212	30	15	0	20	0	3	0
PUERTO RICO	15	2	13%	2	0	12	2	1	0	-	0
SWEDEN	80	8	10%	43	4	25	4	10	0	2	0
Int'l teams	50	0	0%	10	0	34	0	5	0	1	0
Other Int'l	-	0	-	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0
TOTAL	7,502	579	7%	4,836	414	1,157	115	1,202	34	307	16
DRIVE GOALS	7,800			5,000		1,225		1,250		325	
TO BE ON SCHEDULE		975	13%		625		153		156		41

Cuban ambassador speaks out against U.S. war drive at United Nations



Militant/Sam Manuel
Ricardo Alarcón, Cuban ambassador to the United Nations.

On August 6 Ricardo Alarcón, Cuba's ambassador to the United Nations, made the following statement to the UN Security Council. In it Alarcón explains why his government did not vote in favor of Resolution 661 calling for an embargo on trade with Iraq. Resolution 661 was approved four days after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait by a 13-0 vote with Cuba and Yemen abstaining.

Cuba is currently a member of the Security Council. The 15-member council includes five permanent members — Britain, China, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union — and 10 rotating members — currently Cuba, Yemen, Finland, Romania, Canada, Ethiopia, Malaysia, Ivory Coast, Colombia, and Zaire. The council had earlier approved Resolution 660, which condemned the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and called for the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops from that neighboring country. Cuba voted for Resolution 660.

The text of this statement, taken from a UN translation and transcript, is part of a forthcoming Pathfinder pamphlet. The pamphlet will include the full text of the Security Council resolutions concerning developments since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the statements made by Alarcón, Cuban President Fidel Castro, and *Granma* — the Cuban Communist Party's daily — explaining Cuban government opposition to Washington's accelerating war preparations in the Mideast.

* * *

At the outset, I should like to congratulate you [Aurel Dragos Munteanu, Romanian ambassador to the United Nations] upon your work as president of the council and to express our appreciation to your predecessor, the representative of Malaysia, for the way in which he carried out similar tasks last month.

To Cuba, the principles of noninterference in the internal affairs of states — no matter what the reason — of the non-use of force in international relations, of the peaceful settlement of disputes between states, and of respect for the independence, sovereignty, and

territorial integrity of all nations are essential principles of our international order.

It is in defense of those principles that we have expressed our disapproval and condemnation of the entry of Iraqi forces into the territory of Kuwait a few days ago and that we have declared that state of affairs must be ended with the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwaiti territory and the full restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty.

As far as we are concerned, because these are two states and two governments with which we continue to maintain relations of friendship, it causes us to feel particular concern at the situation that has arisen between them. That is why my delegation cast its vote in favor of Security Council Resolution 660. Nevertheless, my delegation wishes to explain the reasons why it is unable to support the draft resolution now before the council.

U.S. intervention in Mideast

First of all, it seems to us that far from contributing to progress in the settlement of the conflict, the text and the imposition of the proposed sanctions at this time would instead tend to complicate the situation even more at a time when Iraq has begun withdrawing its troops, as the representative of that country has reaffirmed here. Similarly, the draft resolution would facilitate the interventionist actions taking place in the region and being openly promoted and proclaimed by the U.S. government. The draft would also impede the current actions and efforts of the Arab states to arrive at a solution.

Furthermore, the draft resolution suffers from other defects that my delegation feels obliged to mention. To begin with, we are asked to approve specific sanctions that have already been imposed unilaterally by the principal developed powers of the world.

We are also presented with a situation in which a number of states — particularly the main promoter of the draft, the United States of America — seem to have suddenly discovered the value of those fundamental principles that I mentioned a few minutes ago.

Reference is frequently made in our debates to the changes taking place in the

international arena. I wonder whether anyone really believes that what we have here is also the expression of a change, of something new in international life.

Is the United States really concerned with defending the rights of weak states, of small countries? Is this really a defense of the principle of nonintervention? Are we really talking about defense of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations? Is it really the need to promote respect for the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of states that motivates the United States to urge these sanctions against Iraq? Is that really the reason?

Is the defense of the legitimate interests of the Kuwaiti government really the concern that has led the United States delegation to act as it is doing now, or is it the hegemonist and interventionist ambitions of the United States in the Middle East? My delegation has no doubt as to what the answers to those questions would be, but the council and the international community have no reason for any doubt in that regard either.

The draft resolution before us was originally received by all of us in an almost identical version when it was faxed to us from the U.S. Mission at 5:48 p.m. on Friday, Aug. 3. Now an attempt is being made to justify this [resolution] on grounds that Iraq has failed to carry out the withdrawal of its forces from Kuwaiti territory or by interpreting various statements made in Baghdad on Sunday, or what has been said here by the permanent representative of Iraq. But that is not the truth.

The plan to impose sanctions on Iraq actually existed before we entered this new phase of Security Council deliberations, at a time when no one even knew about the statement made by the Iraqi government, also on Aug. 3, to the effect that it was going to commence the withdrawal of its troops from Kuwait.

U.S. Marines in Liberia

But apart from this, while we were discussing, negotiating, or holding consultations on this draft resolution, the U.S. government sent a contingent of marines to the territory of Liberia. I do not recall any consultations held on that subject. I am not aware of any Security Council resolution or request made by any group of states to invite U.S. Marines to enter the territory of Liberia without permission. Yet there they are, and the United States has said they will remain there for as long as it considers necessary.

To justify this draft resolution, reference is now being made to the positions taken by various states or groups of states concerning this lamentable conflict between Iraq and Kuwait. But we cannot help recalling that for 23 years all the states of the region — Iraq, Kuwait, and all the other states — all the Nonaligned states and the General Assembly, almost unanimously, have condemned Israel's occupation of the territories that we have come to describe, by diplomatic tradition, as the occupied territories. Apparently those territories can be occupied forever.

There seems to be no need to impose sanctions against the occupier when it is Israel. Was any account taken of the opinions of the Nonaligned countries and the countries of the Middle East region, with proposals for more effective actions to compel Israel to withdraw its troops from the occupied terri-

ories and recognize the rights of that other Arab people, the people of Palestine?

But all of us also know that some six months ago this same Security Council considered in informal consultations a draft resolution on the latest developments with respect to the occupied territories. What did the council do? Was it able to act? Why was it not able to act? Is there anybody who does not know the reason? We all know that it was the opposition of the delegation of the United States of America to even a declaration that the occupation was illegal, let alone to sanctions or to more effective measures against the occupying state.

South Africa in Angola

The territory of Angola, part of it, was occupied for some 15 years by the South African regime's troops. My delegation does not recall any occasion when anyone discovered the principle of noninterference and respect for territorial integrity, let alone urged the imposition of effective sanctions on South Africa to compel it to abandon Angolan territory.

The territory of Lebanon, or part of it, has been occupied by Israel for 12 years, and on the eve of this deplorable and regrettable conflict between Kuwait and Iraq, as we all know, the council had to consider once again the situation concerning the UN force in southern Lebanon.

We had to confine ourselves to renewing that force's mandate and to issuing a terse and carefully worded presidential declaration. It made no reference to strong sanctions against Israel, notwithstanding the fact that Israel, as the secretary-general's own report stated, is not complying with the relevant Security Council resolution, is not cooperating with the UN force in the area and, even worse, is attacking it.

Worse still, we had to learn from the report that two Nepalese soldiers had lost their lives in unprovoked incidents. They were the victims of Israeli weapons. Since we did not adopt sanctions, did we at least express the Security Council's condemnation of that situation? Did we even state that we deplored the fact that after 12 years of the occupation of southern Lebanon, Israel still was not expressing any willingness to leave the territory? Did we even express concern? Was there any initiative faxed to our missions for an immediate meeting of the council to adopt such decisions? Evidently that was not the case.

Invasion of Panama

Seven months ago the territory of another small and weak country was invaded by the military force of a great power and in a matter of hours that power, the United States, took possession of that country. There was one innovation in that case that was perhaps without precedent: it installed a new government, perhaps the first in the world in which the president, the head of government, took the oath of office at a U.S. military base, naturally in the presence of the commanding general of the occupying forces. That happened seven months ago.

There was, of course, no U.S. draft resolution calling for the imposition of sanctions against the United States, but beyond that — regrettably I must say this — there was likewise not much sentiment in favor of such a

Continued on Page 7

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U.S. seeks UN cover for military invasion

Continued from front page

In an emergency meeting less than 24 hours after the Iraqi invasion, the UN Security Council approved a resolution condemning the action and demanding Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. This resolution was followed by a number of others that called for a naval and air blockade to enforce a total trade embargo on Iraq.

The banning of cargo flights to and from Iraq was approved by the Security Council September 25, even though there has been no evidence of any violation of the embargo since it was imposed.

France uses firepower

As the U.S. aircraft carrier *Independence* was taking up its position in the Gulf, France, for the first time since the blockade began, used firepower to enforce the trade embargo. The frigate *Doudart de Lagrée* fired warning shots to halt a North Korean freighter near Djibouti in the Bab al Mandeb, the strait which links the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden.

The North Korean vessel, *Sam Il Po*, was searched and then released when it did not appear to be violating the UN embargo. This was the fifth interception in the Persian Gulf area in which warning shots were fired since the blockade was imposed August 6.

Iraq, which depends on imports for most of its food needs, is feeling the squeeze. Since the embargo began, basic foodstuffs have been rationed and many items are in short supply, including medicines.

"The U.S. is acting as if they have become the only superpower, the dominant force in the world," said Ricardo Alarcón, Cuba's chief delegate to the United Nations, after the 15-member Security Council voted 14-1 for the air embargo against Iraq. Cuba, a member of the council, was the only country

to vote against that resolution.

While stating his country believes "that Iraqi troops must withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Kuwait," Alarcón condemned the trade embargo.

Blockade is inhuman

On September 25 Alarcón told the council that it "has been inconsistent on the imposition of sanctions." Alarcón termed the sanctions "inhuman actions because they deny thousands of innocent people, including children, the elderly, and women, a fundamental right no one has the authority to take away, the right to basic foods and appropriate health care."

As examples of the UN's inconsistency in imposing sanctions, Alarcón cited the UN's record toward the apartheid regime of South Africa. The UN has passed no resolutions calling for a blockade of that country, nor have the fleets of any countries been called to patrol the waters surrounding South Africa to make sure the partial sanctions imposed on Pretoria are complied with.

Washington, aware that its interventions and military invasions around the world and those of its allies make its current claims of defending Kuwaiti sovereignty ring hollow, has since the beginning of the conflict been urging the Israeli regime to keep a low profile. The U.S. government funnels several billions of dollars in military and economic aid to Israel each year. In fact, Israel's economy is dependent in all its sectors on a high level of U.S. aid.

The state of Israel was created by the imperialist powers after World War II and occupies the homeland of the Palestinian people. Since then it has invaded and occupied territories of neighboring Arab countries.

There exists tremendous support among



"There will be morale!" general tells disillusioned marines.

the peoples in the Arab East for the struggle of the Palestinian people.

"Israel must stay far away totally from the gulf problem," said Saudi Arabia's Defense Minister Prince Sultan during a recent tour of Saudi forces in the southern part of the country near the border with Yemen.

"We will not allow Israel," Prince Sultan said, "regardless how severe inter-Arab conflicts become, to defend us against Iraq or against anybody else — let it be very well known and let it be very well understood."

Trying to get the Israeli population ready for the possibility of a wider war in the region, and the possible use of chemical weapons by Iraq, the Israeli government announced October 1 that it would begin distributing gas masks to the general public.

Although the government has enough masks, antidote-filled syringes, and other protective gear for every resident and visitor, the army had not bought masks for the 1.7 million Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. And while the protective gear is being handed out free to the Israeli public, the Palestinians are required to buy theirs.

In an effort to further squeeze Iraq, Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is pressing the Security Council to order Iraq to pay compensation to Kuwait for damages by its occupation forces. Thatcher has proposed that reparations to Kuwait be paid from frozen Iraqi assets overseas, which would be confiscated by the UN.

U.S. troop morale

As the number of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia and in the surrounding waters continues to grow, many soldiers have raised questions about why they are there and have expressed confusion on the reasons for their mission in the Middle East, a September 30 *New York Times* report said.

Many mix up Iran with Iraq, repeating the U.S. government's propaganda against Iran for the past decade. They describe Iraq as "a Muslim fundamentalist nation led by a religious fanatic," the report said, and most "will often say they are here to defend freedom."

"The United States has been the one in history that is first to help and do what it says it will do," a 28-year-old private said. "You know, the land of the free."

But when told that both Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are monarchies with limited freedom of the press and assembly, and no freedom of religion, the soldiers "sometimes seem confused," the *Times* said.

"Well, then mainly it's about oil," said Staff Sgt. Henry Bishop. "We're here to protect our supply of oil."

When asked by the *Times* reporter if that was a good enough reason to be in the region, Pvt. Daphne Butler, a truck driver, said, "No."

Pvt. Tina Amalong, a 21-year-old radio operator, said morale was suffering because "no one knows when they're leaving, and there's almost no news."

Attempting to put an end to the questioning by the troops, Gen. Alfred Gray recently told a group of marines, "I don't want to hear any more questions about how long you are gonna be here." There will be no morale problems among the troops, he said. "That's because I say there'll be morale."

Cuban ambassador opposes U.S. war drive

Continued from Page 6

proposal among the other members of the council, and consequently the Security Council did not even make a statement on the matter.

The General Assembly did do so. On that occasion it voted to adopt a resolution and the vote showed that four of the countries sponsoring the draft resolution now before us voted against the General Assembly's resolution concerning the illegal U.S. invasion of Panamanian territory.

It has been said by some in our consultations that our inability to adopt positions consistent with the defense of those principles in other cases should not make us fail to do so now. In other words, we should let the United States choose how, where, and when those principles should be applied. However, we are not talking about past history now. The council can, if it wishes, adopt effective measures with respect to the power that continues to occupy the "occupied territories."

Israel's occupation of Lebanon

The council could take effective decisions concerning the power that continues illegally to occupy southern Lebanon and, of course, against the power that continues to occupy Panama seven months after its invasion.

Then, if there were the slightest intention of being consistent, we could begin here and now to rectify this contradiction that arises when, in a selective fashion, an attempt is made for the second time, as [U.S.] Ambassador Pickering has reminded us, to institute such drastic sanctions against a country.

I can recall another occasion that may be the one that the representative of the United States was referring to: the decision taken by the Security Council concerning the illegal regime of Rhodesia when it unilaterally declared the independence of that territory, for the purpose, as we all remember, of preventing the people of Zimbabwe — who, fortunately, live in an independent, sovereign land today — from achieving genuine independence.

But the authorities of that racist minority regime in Rhodesia made that unilateral decision in 1965. The General Assembly immediately adopted a resolution, with extensive support from the overwhelming majority of its members, calling for effective steps against that regime to restore legality and to make possible a real decolonization process that would lead, as it eventually did, to independence.

When did the Security Council act? In October 1965, in November, in December?

Did it act in less than 48 hours? Or did it wait days, or weeks, or months? Notwithstanding the fact that all the states in the region — the African countries, all the Nonaligned countries, and the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly — were urging the council to carry out its task and adopt effective measures against Rhodesia. The Security Council acted in 1967, two years after the attempt to deprive the people of Zimbabwe of their inalienable national rights.

Pretext to escalate intervention

My delegation has no doubt that the adoption of this draft resolution, far from helping to bring a speedy solution to this conflict — which we believe must be achieved through the withdrawal of Iraqi forces and the full restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty — will, we are convinced, serve or be used, as part of the designs of the United States to intensify its intervention in a part of the world that it appears to regard as its own property.

I am grateful to Ambassador Pickering for something that, it seems to me, is quite illuminating. I listened very carefully to his statement, as I always do, and, at the same time, I was following the text of the press release circulated by the U.S. Mission and containing the text of his statement.

There were a number of additional paragraphs, additional ideas, that he inserted during his statement. However, there was one phrase that he left out, which is in the press release but was not spoken by Ambassador Pickering. I can understand his reasons for not wanting to pronounce it, and I am grateful to him for having spoken as he did.

The second paragraph on page 2 of the text circulated by the U.S. Mission contains a reference to Security Council Resolution 660, and thereafter it is stated that the Security Council must unequivocally establish today that the family of civilized nations will not tolerate such behavior, that is, the behavior of a state that, according to the text of the statement, fails to comply with the council's decision.

After this comes a phrase which disappeared from the statement as spoken by the representative of the United States. It is very short, containing just four words, and I shall quote it: "not here, not ever."

That phrase could not be uttered because it highlights the inconsistency and the unacceptable selectivity of approach that the United States adopts with respect to this resolution. The United States is not really in a position to have these principles applied, not

merely here, but also there and everywhere, not merely today but always, without fail. The reasons for this are, I think, more than evident, and there is no need to labor the point.

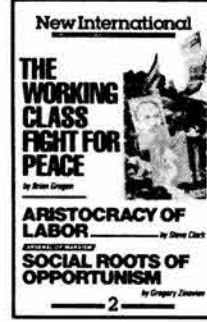
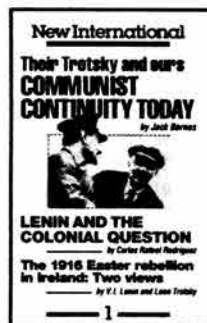
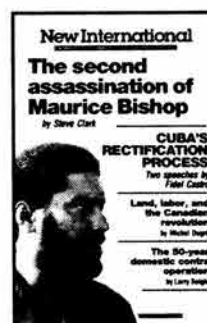
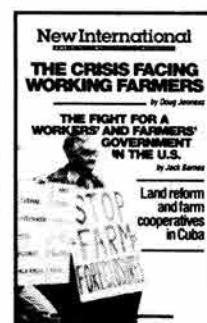
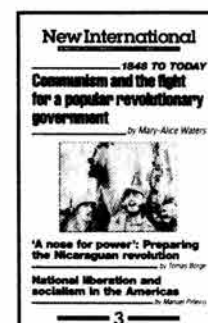
We are convinced that the draft resolution presented here does not really help to settle the conflict and, moreover, we believe that it is based on an approach that should not be espoused by the international community — one that is motivated not by a desire to restore legality or to safeguard the legitimate rights of the government of Kuwait — but by a desire to foster the strategic interests of a great power, which considers itself the master of the Middle East. For these reasons, my delegation cannot support this draft resolution.

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New International
A MAGAZINE OF MARXIST POLITICS AND THEORY



"We cannot afford to stand di

Nelson Mandela speaks on gov't involvement in violence across Sc

The following address was given to a meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Kampala, Uganda, on September 8 by African National Congress Deputy President Nelson Mandela.

In the speech Mandela responds to the latest wave of violence in the Transvaal area — the region surrounding Johannesburg — and explains the current stage of the negotiations with the government and the challenges in the struggle against apartheid.

Mandela explains the involvement of the government with Inkatha in the attacks in the Transvaal that have resulted in some 800 deaths over the past two months. Inkatha is a political organization headed by Gatsha Buthelezi. Buthelezi is also the chief minister of the KwaZulu Bantustan, one of 10 "homelands" created by the regime where the majority of the Black population is forced to live. As head of Inkatha, Buthelezi claims to represent the Zulu people, and the fighting has been reported in the big-business media as a "tribal" conflict.

The transcript of the speech is from the Kampala Domestic Service in English, reprinted in a U.S. government Foreign Broadcast Information Service bulletin.

* * *

Mr. Chairman, your excellencies, comrades, and friends:

I should like first to apologize for having failed to have a prepared speech. I was only informed that I would be invited to make a few remarks only last night and it was therefore not possible to have a prepared speech. I have already fully briefed the Frontline States in Lusaka [Zambia] last Saturday on the latest political development in South Africa as well as on the wave of violence that is tearing our country apart today. Later today, I will have another opportunity of briefing your excellencies on the same topics.

These latest political developments in South Africa, as well as the wave of violence

on which I am going to brief your excellencies, are matters of common knowledge. But what is not realized is that in South Africa today, we are witnessing the rise of the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] movement.

South Africa inherited the Renamo movement from the Rhodesians. But because of the massive resources which the South African government commands, they have been in a position to give enormous capacities to Renamo to carry out its activities of death and destruction and to destroy the infrastructure of Mozambique. Those same elements were very active even after the Nkomati accord.¹ They are still active today — that is, the elements from South Africa which are behind Renamo. What is happening now is to extend the activities of Renamo to South Africa. That is the grim reality which faces the liberation movements in South Africa. This is the grim reality which faces the OAU.

Test of leadership

What is happening in South Africa today is going to test the spirit, the expertise, and the capacity of the entire leadership of Africa in dealing with situations which are calculated to maintain white supremacy in our region. The tactic is a very simple one. These elements incite members of Inkatha, especially from the Transvaal hostels, to attack residents indiscriminately, irrespective of the tribe to which they belong and irrespective of the political organization with which they are associated.

What has happened in this violence is that members of all tribes — Basutos, Bechuanas, Shangaans, Zulus, and Xhosas — have been massacred by these groups. They don't ask what tribe you belong to, what

1. The Nkomati accord was signed in March 1984 by the governments of South Africa and Mozambique. South Africa pledged to end all aid to Renamo; Mozambique pledged to end use of its territory for transit by ANC fighters entering South Africa.

organization you belong to. When they decide to go on the rampage, anybody they come into contact with is the victim — children, women, elderly people, everybody without exception they can lay their weapons on. That is what is happening. Lads who have received a military training who have sold out and who have gone over to the enemy are being systematically recruited by these elements.

I do not want to detail the type of evidence that we have. It is sufficient to tell you that on Wednesday night, at a train station right at the center of Johannesburg, two black men opened fire on passengers and killed five on the spot. Those men have not been arrested by the government. There are numerous cases of this nature. Death squads are prowling around the country.

Sometimes moving in cars — in kombis [minibuses] — without number plates, they shoot any black man they come across. Only last week, in a township known as Tembesi, a kombi without number plates opened fire on residents of two houses in that township and killed 11 people.

Obstacles to peace process

You can see that what is happening there is not just a fight between two political organizations. It is a matter where certain elements want to make it impossible for the continuation of the peace process that has been launched, impossible for us to overthrow white supremacy. This is the issue that is happening in South Africa.

Not only are we faced with attacks from these elements, from these faceless elements. We are also having violence from state agents. Last Monday, in a township known as Sebokeng, members of Inkatha coming from outside the township and led by a well-known official of Inkatha went into the hostel.

What is striking before I develop on this point is that ever since 30 people were killed in the same township on July 22 this year, people who were killed during broad daylight and in the sight of the police — ever since that incident, the police have been patrolling the hostel to make sure that no people from the hostel came out to attack residents. But on Monday night, all the patrols suddenly disappeared. And that night, Inkatha attacked and killed a very large number of people. This naturally angered residents and they surrounded the hostel and demanded that these people must be disarmed in the presence of the residents. The police refused to disarm them and insisted that the residents should leave the place.

'People have been provoked'

In that situation, when people are angered, when people have been provoked, they tend to react with their emotions. And they were so irritated, they were so annoyed, that all the persuasion by the South African police for them to move did not succeed in getting them to move away. What they did was to insist that before we move away, let these people be disarmed, because if you don't do so, they are going to use these dangerous weapons again to kill more people.

The police persisted with their refusal, and thereafter they called the army. The army came out already in battle formation. They advanced towards the residents and, without any warning, they opened fire on unarmed and defenseless people, and 11 people were left dead. Some of them were shot from the back. They were shot as they were running away.

Now, it is part and parcel of the training as well as the conduct of the South African Police as well as the army never to use the ordinary methods of crowd control like tear smoke and water jets. What they normally do is to open fire, live bullets, and that is why there are so many casualties when the police deal with the crowds.

Now, as you know, in April this year we suspended the talks which we were supposed to have with the government on the 11th of that month because they had shot and killed about 14 Africans in the course of a peaceful demonstration. We demanded a judicial in-

quiry before we could decide whether we were going to continue with this discussion with the government, and the government was eventually forced to appoint a judicial commission. The findings of the judge in that commission are an indictment against the methods of police training in our country.

Methods of police

We have always said that the training of the South African Police is that any demonstration, however peaceful and disciplined and nonviolent, any political demonstration by blacks is regarded as a declaration of war on white supremacy and it has to be put down by the most brutal methods. That is how they are trained.

Although [South African President F.W.] de Klerk did not spell it out in the manner in which I put it, he nevertheless condemned the way in which the South African Police are trained and their conduct in dealing with crowds. But in actual fact, this is a problem that we are facing not only as far as the police force, but as far as the army as well. And that is why they came out and, on the strength of a report which must have been given to them by the police officers, they never themselves gave any order for people to disperse. And all that they did was when they came into range, they opened fire and killed so many people.

What is disturbing is the failure of the government to deal with the situation. Our people are being attacked by Inkatha supported by the police, and I will give details of that when I brief your excellencies. Attacks by Inkatha, attacks by these senseless elements and attacks by state agencies — the government has totally failed to deal with this situation.

Now the result of the government failure to take firm action against all these elements is that there is now a widespread demand coming from the most law-abiding people, and especially from the youth, that we should arm the people. It's a demand which is reasonable and which, if this violence continues in the way it has done over the last months, is the type of demand which will be difficult to refuse because it is reasonable for the people when the government fails to carry out its responsibilities to take the most effective means to defend themselves.

Firearms against the people

The reason why so many casualties are taking place in the country is because our people are now being systematically attacked with firearms. The only defense against an enemy which uses firearms against the people is for the people to have firearms. That is the situation that is facing the country today.

As the secretary-general of the OAU has said, we have declared a suspension of armed action with immediate effect. We have done that firstly because we are the architects of the peace process that is going on in the country today. We, the ANC, initiated this process as far back as 1986. Eventually, the government agreed to sit down and talk to us. We have had two successful meetings, which had raised the hope that a peaceful settlement is possible in our country. Precisely at this stage, these elements have intensified their own activities in which they are attacking the masses of the people.

If the government fails to take effective action, I can see this peace process being derailed. The danger is very great, because although we are determined to do everything to create an atmosphere whereby a peaceful settlement can be reached, we are not prepared to do so indefinitely. We are not prepared to witness the death of our people. The carrying on of negotiations and rhetoric on peace while at the same time the government is conducting a war against us is a position we cannot accept.

We have warned the government several times on this matter, and if they fail to take effective action, the whole of South Africa, unfortunately, and very much against our will, will be drowned in blood. That is the responsibility of the government. We will do everything in our power to avoid that disaster

Campaign to promote book of Mandela speeches in Spanish

BY MIKE TABER

A new Spanish-language book, *Nelson Mandela: Intensifiquemos la lucha* (Nelson Mandela: Intensify the Struggle), published by Pathfinder, is now available. Pathfinder bookstores around the world are undertaking special efforts to promote the book.

Containing ten speeches by Mandela since his release from prison in February, the book is an important contribution to extending the knowledge of the struggle against apartheid today and the political course of the ANC. A number of the speeches are included in Pathfinder's English-language pamphlet *Nelson Mandela: Speeches 1990*. However, the new book contains four additional items, including three speeches from Mandela's tour of North America in June.

Pathfinder bookstores have set up displays of the new book and will be encouraging those who are interested in learning more about the struggle against apartheid to purchase subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant*. Much of the material in the book was originally taken from the two publications, which continue to publish speeches by Mandela and up-to-date articles on the ongoing anti-apartheid fight.

To help promote the book a bilingual brochure is being prepared that will also list Pathfinder's other titles in Spanish.

In a number of cities, Pathfinder bookstores are planning public meetings celebrating the publication of the book. These will involve anti-apartheid activists, union militants, antiwar fighters, and others.

One indication of the interest in the selection of speeches is the initial response from larger commercial bookstores and book distributors. Many of these recognize the growing market for Spanish-language books in

the United States, a result of the continued emigration of working people from Latin America. One major book wholesaler, for example, placed an order for 75 copies of the new Mandela book in response to an advance publication announcement.

In addition, public libraries in some cities are building up their collection of Spanish-language books to meet the growing demand.

Distribution of the book will build on the success of Pathfinder's *Habla Nelson Mandela* (Nelson Mandela Speaks), which contains Mandela's 1962 and 1964 courtroom addresses. Over 4,000 copies of that title have been sold since its publication in 1986, most of them by Pathfinder bookstores. In the months since Mandela's release, there has been a significant increase in orders.

Habla Nelson Mandela is an important complement to the new book, giving a historical background to the current developments in South Africa. Another title that Pathfinder bookstores will promote along with *Intensifiquemos la lucha* are *Sudáfrica: la revolución en camino* (The Coming Revolution in South Africa), by Jack Barnes. The pamphlet is a Spanish translation of "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," that appears in *New Internationalist* No. 5, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory. That document is a key contribution to understanding the coming democratic revolution in South Africa and the building of a communist movement there.

Priced at \$12.95, *Nelson Mandela: Intensifiquemos la lucha* is available through November 1 at a special prepublication price of \$9.95. It can be purchased at any of the Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or ordered directly from Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

divided"

South Africa

and to press on with peace.

We declared a cease-fire precisely because we want the climate which is conducive to negotiations to be fully established, and if the government fails to respond we know exactly what to do.

Now, as far as the latest political developments in the country, we have now taken a decision to remove the obstacles to the negotiations. We are having discussions with the government, and what the public is doing, and even our friends, is concentrating on the agreements which appear on paper.

But many of you will realize that not every decision which was taken in a situation of this nature appears on a piece of paper.

Negotiation is a very difficult exercise, and we must be very careful in prejudging issues merely on the basis of what you see in the documents which are published. It is necessary to look deeper than that. It may even be difficult to brief our friends on agreements which do not appear on a piece of paper because security may require that we should be reserved even in regard to our own friends, and to do so is no vote of confidence on the part of those who have spent so much resources to help us ensure that these negotiations succeed.

Who will draft constitution

This next stage in the discussions between the ANC and the government is that of identifying the people who are going to be entrusted with the task of drawing up a new constitution for the country. It must be a nonracial constitution, democratic in all aspects.

In this regard, the government and the ANC take two totally different positions. According to the government, all the leaders who work through their political structures, that is, the structures which have been set up by the government over the years, must be involved in this negotiation. That is now the six homeland leaders in the country.

They go further to say the urban counterparts of these homeland leaders must also be involved in the negotiations. They must sit around the negotiating table, and the position therefore is that right from the beginning, the ANC and other sections of the liberation movement that might be involved in the discussions will, right from the beginning, be in the minority so that the government — with its black officials who have accepted, who have practically accepted a policy of apartheid by operating these institutions — they will then be able, because of their majority, to get their views accepted in those negotiations.

That is their hope and that is their strategy. They are busy now trying to strengthen the homelands in various ways I will not go into in order to entice them away from making an alliance with the liberation movement.

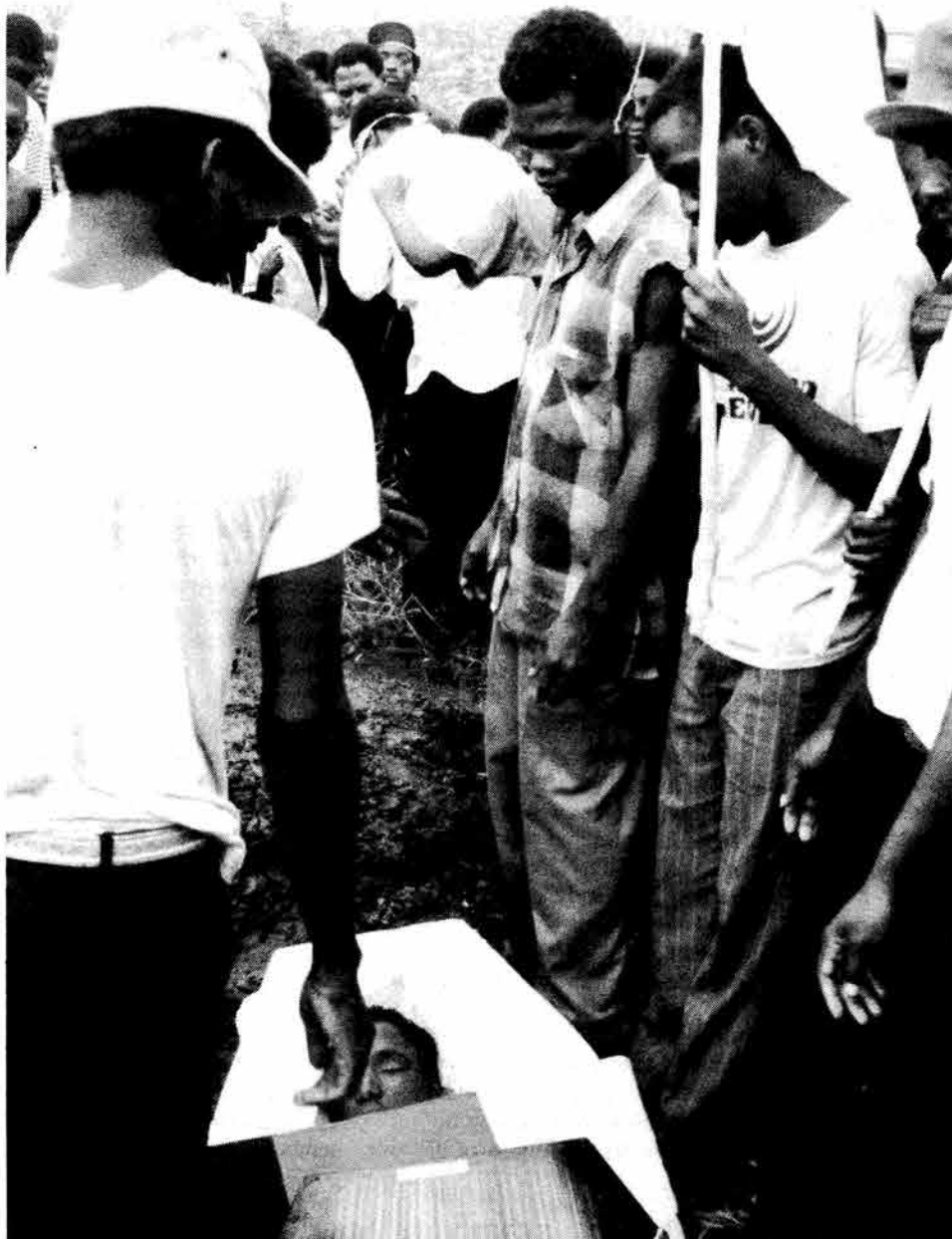
Democratic, nonracial elections

Our position is a simple one. We say: When these so-called elected leaders were elected, the ANC and other political organizations were banned, many of our members were driven into exile, others thrown into jails. Those that remained inside the country were banned so that the organizations themselves could not take part in these elections; and we say that if we are now going to entrust certain individuals with the task of drawing up a nonracial constitution, these leaders must be identified through democratic and nonracial elections.

That is our position. That is the question that is going to be discussed. Already in the very first meeting between the ANC and the government, this matter was a subject of intense debate, and when we went to the press conference — Mr. de Klerk and I — I stated our position, and then he said: This indicates how difficult actual negotiation is going to be.

We have no doubt that it is going to be a difficult and contentious issue. But, as I have already said, we are the architects of this process. We have worked out our tactics. We will meet the government where it is necessary to meet them, but on this particular issue, the day is ours.

This is an argument we cannot lose. This is an argument which cannot be answered by



March 1990 funeral in township near Durban for four young men killed by police

Militant/Margrethe Siem

the government. Nowhere in the world, in the democratic world, can organs of government be created without complete compliance with the principles of democracy, and we say: Our position complies fully with all the acknowledged principles of democracy. Anybody who says he has a following, he must be prepared to fight a nonracial election. That is our position.

It has already been indicated here, both by His Excellency President Museveni as well as by His Excellency Salim Salim,² that in spite of the progressive stand of Mr. de Klerk, we are still very far from getting the fundamental and irreversible changes that we require. As I have pointed out, when I went to jail, I couldn't vote. I have come back after 27 years. I still cannot vote. That is the issue in South Africa, and until all the people of South Africa can vote and determine their own destiny, there is no question whatsoever of reviewing our strategies.

'Sanctions must be maintained'

Sanctions and the isolation of South Africa must be maintained. We have failed in stopping top VIP's and diplomats from going to South Africa. Nevertheless, that is our stand. And when our friends come to us and ask for our advice as to whether they should go to South Africa we say: Please don't.

But of course there are many people who are going to South Africa today. Our stand remains: Sanctions must be maintained, South Africa must be isolated. We say that not only to our friends. We say that in discussions with the government, because sanctions have caused enormous damage to our economy.

The government is concerned and they are pleading to us almost daily to call upon the international community to lift sanctions. Our answer is simple: that if you want us to approach the international community to lift sanctions, we are only too ready to do this, but the price is the extension of the vote to every South African now.

That is our stand, and that is why there is an element of urgency both from the point of view of the government and from the point of view of the ANC. There is a sense of urgency because we are as much concerned as the government that our economy should not be reduced to shambles. But that is the price white South Africa must pay for ex-

cluding the masses of the people from the vote and from the resources of the country.

Now you will have heard that the National Party is now becoming very revolutionary, very democratic, very progressive. It has now decided to open its membership to all races. But I can tell you that there is no single black man of any standing who will commit suicide and join the National Party.

We know very well that certain people who are already working with the National Party by manning apartheid institutions will join. They have no following whatsoever in the country. And the opening of the National Party to all races is at the present moment mere rhetoric, is not going to change the political structure and the political scenario in the country. It is going to remain more or less the same.

A matter that concerns, which has been raised by the two previous speakers here, is one of the unity of the blacks, the unity of the liberation movement. We regard this as very important, but our starting point is that in South Africa, the people are united. Huge rallies that we have held since October last year have never been seen in the history of the country.

Defiance campaign

We have held a number of mass actions which have had a very important impact. We have defied apartheid in hospitals, hospitals which are reserved for whites. Our people have gone to these hospitals and demanded and got treatment. The result is that the government has now declared apartheid in hospitals dead, although in practice you still find white hospitals in which there is a great deal of reluctance to admit black patients. There are not sufficient beds, there is not enough equipment and you are not so sick, please go home. But nevertheless, in rhetoric, apartheid in hospitals has been eliminated.

Our people have staged strikes which have been very successful from the point of view of the conservative press. If they have been reported even, figures indicate the response of the masses of the people to these calls sometimes 100 percent, other times 90 percent. An organization which is able to have such an impact has actually succeeded in uniting the people.

There is no country anywhere in the world which hasn't got various parties. There is an instance of different parties in the liberation movement of South Africa today. It does not indicate that the people of South Africa are not united. We are united, but we take into

account the fact that there are other political organizations whose members have sacrificed like all of us. We feel it is only fair to recognize their contributions and to seek unity with them.

But there is a problem. We can only approach these organizations and ask them to join us that we should work together. We can't do more. We have approached these organizations — some of them are here — and said to them: Let's pool our resources. The situation in the country today is such that we can't afford to stand divided.

They don't grasp the importance of us pooling our resources at the present moment. I, as an individual, have made several efforts to see the leaders of these organizations. Some, of course, have responded very well. We are discussing with them. We have formed joint structures with them.

But there are others here who have persistently taken up the attitude of refusing to sit down to talk with us. On the contrary, they are using the mass media, the white mass media, to air differences amongst us without coming to us to say: here are our differences, can we resolve them? It is that type of attitude — where organizations which are part of the liberation movement go to the mass media to try and solve the problems facing the liberation movement for mere publicity stunts and attacking other organizations in the mass media.

We have warned against this. And some other organizations have heeded the warning, but others have not. They don't understand what I am telling you today: that in South Africa, we have the rise of the Renamo movement. They just don't appreciate that. Their ferocity is directed almost exclusively on the ANC and allied organizations, and our appeals that we should sit together to examine our problem together fall on deaf ears.

When I returned from overseas, we invited all organizations in the country — political, labor organizations, religious organizations, academic, and others — [to a meeting] in order to give them [a report on our campaign] to maintain sanctions and for resources. We are keen not only to share experiences at what the international community said in regard to sanctions, we are even prepared to share resources, because we are in a far better position to get resources from the international community. We are prepared to share even that.

All these organizations turned up except one, and only one: The PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress]. They refused, and their reason for refusing was difficult to understand, because among the reasons they advanced was the fact that we have invited other organizations as well and they couldn't participate in that type of invitation.

We stretch out our hands of friendship to them. We say: Let us forget the past. We are brothers, we are sisters, we are one flesh and blood, our community is in danger, our people are being killed every day. If there is anything which can be dangerous to the future of South Africa, it is the fact that we should be squabbling amongst ourselves when Rome is burning.

I appeal to them, as I have done on many occasions in South Africa, to forget the past. Let us hold our hands, let us address this problem together. If we stand together, victory of the liberation movement is assured, because what has happened in other countries where faceless elements have destabilized those countries, their political system, their economic organization, it is because there were individuals who were prepared to shout in the mass media to oppose the established governments of those countries. And when that happened, reactionary forces throughout the world put all their resources in the hands of those elements.

There is no country which faces as much danger in this regard as South Africa, and it is therefore imperative for the liberation movement as a whole to pool their resources. That is our message. That is the spirit in which I make this appeal to them.

Thank you very much.

2. Yoweri Museveni is president of Uganda; Salim Ahmed Salim is a Tanzanian government official.

Eastern strikers reach out for more solidarity

Some 8,500 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) struck Eastern Airlines March 4, 1989, in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

As of the *Militant's* closing news date, Wednesday, October 3, the strike was in its 579th day.

tember 25. They were demanding adoption of legislation to bar the permanent replacement of striking workers. The United Paperworkers International Union initiated the rally. Many participants were attending a legislative conference of the union.

The action also drew contingents from other unions, including

in donations for strike T-shirts and buttons.

In addition, a recent parking lot collection at the Dulles Airport netted nearly \$600. The collection, organized by Local 1759 of the IAM, reached many airline workers, especially those at United Airlines.

was an early morning plant-gate collection of \$300 at the Geo. A. Hormel meat-packing plant in Fremont, Nebraska. Almost \$5,000 was raised during the tour to aid the Eastern and Greyhound strikes.

At Air Canada in Toronto, a general foreman ordered Joe Young, a member of IAM Local 2323 who works in the hangar, to take off an Eastern strike support button. Management argued that the button is not part of company uniform and that there is no freedom of expression on company property, despite a previous arbitration ruling upholding the right of union members to wear a union cap.

Young's union filed a grievance that read in part, "This button is an expression of support for my international union. By refusing my right to wear this button, management is denying me my rights of freedom of speech, enjoyment of property, and choice of personal appearance." The grievance was upheld at the first stage.

Following this victory, a fellow worker suggested to Young that more buttons be brought into work so that other workers could show the company what they thought. Young took his friend's proposal to the September 5 meeting of his union, and

the local decided to order 200 more buttons.

Chanting "From Eastern to Greyhound we're gonna draw the line; we're gonna stand together on the picket line," some 50 union miners, Eastern strikers, and strike supporters rallied in front of the Eastern ticket counter at the St. Louis airport on September 16.

The rally was organized by members of the United Mine Workers of America in Illinois who were leaving for their union convention in Miami. The crowd was addressed by a UMW International representative from Illinois, a striking Greyhound worker and an Eastern striker. The representative from the UMW appealed to those at the rally to be ready to help the miners union in its efforts to block plans by Arch — a coal company — to open a non-union mine in the heart of the coalfields in Illinois.

Over the course of the day, other UMW members traveling through the airport stopped by the Machinists picket line to express solidarity.

L. Paltrineri from Omaha, Jim Rogers from St. Louis, and Eastern striker Susie Winsten from Washington, D.C., contributed to this column.



SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

The Eastern workers' fight has won broad support from working people in the United States, Puerto Rico and the Caribbean, Canada, Bermuda, Sweden, New Zealand, France, and elsewhere in the world. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encouraged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

In Washington, D.C., Eastern strikers and striking workers at the Greyhound bus company had a vocal presence at a rally of nearly 1,000 unionists from around the country who gathered at Lafayette Park near the White House on Sep-

tember 25. They were demanding adoption of legislation to bar the permanent replacement of striking workers. The United Paperworkers International Union initiated the rally. Many participants were attending a legislative conference of the union.

After the rally, a busload of trade unionists from Roanoke, Virginia, participated in expanded picket lines at both the Greyhound Bus Terminal and Washington National Airport.

The following day another expanded picket line at the airport swelled to 70 when members of the IAM from around the country took time out from the union's leadership school to show their support for Eastern strikers.

During the two days of events, Eastern strikers collected over \$500

"We know what it's like to be out on strike. We've been on strike five times since 1969 against IBP. We strike practically every contract," a meat-packing worker told Washington, D.C., Eastern striker Nancy Brown. Brown recently wrapped up a successful tour in Nebraska and Iowa, building support for the Machinists strike.

Brown spoke in Sioux City, Iowa, to members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 222, which organizes workers at the IBP beef slaughter and processing plant in Dakota City, Nebraska. IBP is the largest beef and pork operation in the United States. The plant employs almost 3,000 workers.

In addition, Brown spoke to workers at four different packinghouses during the final week of her visit. At several meetings a wide range of questions and lively discussion followed Brown's presentation.

One of the highlights of the tour

Eastern is in trouble 'as long as strike continues'

Continued from front page

ists held an expanded picket at the airport on September 29, which drew 40 strikers and supporters.

Recently, some 50 Eastern strikers and supporters in Miami protested at Florida International University, where Shugrue was speaking on the "New Eastern."

In Detroit, 200 trade unionists chanting "No contract, no peace" held an indoor rally at the Metro Airport on September 22. On the same day, 150 Eastern strikers and other trade unionists in Boston held a New Orleans-style funeral procession at the Eastern terminal at Logan Airport.

Machinists have also been reaching out to win more solidarity at meetings and gatherings of trade unionists. Strikers participated in a number of recent union conventions, including the International Union of Electronic Workers, and the miners union.

In addition, an Eastern striker from Washington, D.C., recently wrapped up a tour in Nebraska and Iowa. The tour included speaking engagements before 23 trade union locals. A total of \$5,000 was raised for Eastern and Greyhound strikers. The tour culminated in an enthusiastic picket line of 75 people on September 21, which started at the Greyhound terminal in Omaha and wound up at Eppley Airfield.

Machinists have also been speaking at union meetings in Alabama, West Virginia, Utah, and elsewhere.

Troubles mount at Eastern

While the striking Machinists have stepped up their activities, Eastern's troubles are mushrooming. The October 2 issue of the IAM District 100 strike bulletin declared, "Scab Eastern's marketing gimmick a flop," referring to the airline's first-class program, and reported the passenger load factor on October 1 stood at 44 percent.

This is 20 percent below the airline's load factor in June and July. Shugrue has stated that because of the rise in jet fuel prices — a 65 percent price jump since early August — Eastern would have to fill its planes to 102 percent of capacity to break even.

The jump in fuel prices has added an extra \$15 million a month to Eastern's fuel bill, and the airline is losing some \$2 million each day it operates. Even before the fuel price raise, Eastern's predicted losses for 1990 were \$510 million. The losses can be expected to go much higher.

In addition, Eastern continues to be rocked by questions over its safety record. According to press reports, the Justice Department is investigating new allegations of the airline's failure to comply with safety regulations.

In July, Eastern and nine of its current and former management personnel were handed a 60-count indictment over safety violations, making Eastern the first U.S. airline ever to be hit with criminal charges for failing to maintain its planes properly.

If convicted, each defendant could face up to five years in prison and a \$250,000 fine on each count. Eastern faces a maximum fine of \$30 million. A January 28 trial date has been set.

Eastern has operated under bankruptcy protection since Frank Lorenzo filed for Chapter 11 in court on March 9, 1989. Lorenzo was removed from day-to-day operations by the bankruptcy judge in April after proposing Eastern's creditors receive 10 cents on each dollar they are owed. The airline's secured and unsecured creditors are owed some \$1 billion.

The judge appointed Shugrue to protect the creditors' interests. To date, creditors have provided \$500 million from an escrow account that was set up to hold the proceeds of the sale of parts of Eastern's assets. Following the sale of the carrier's Latin American routes to American Airlines in August, the escrow account stands at about \$1 billion, but some \$670 million of that is earmarked for the secured creditors.

Government and Continental drawn in

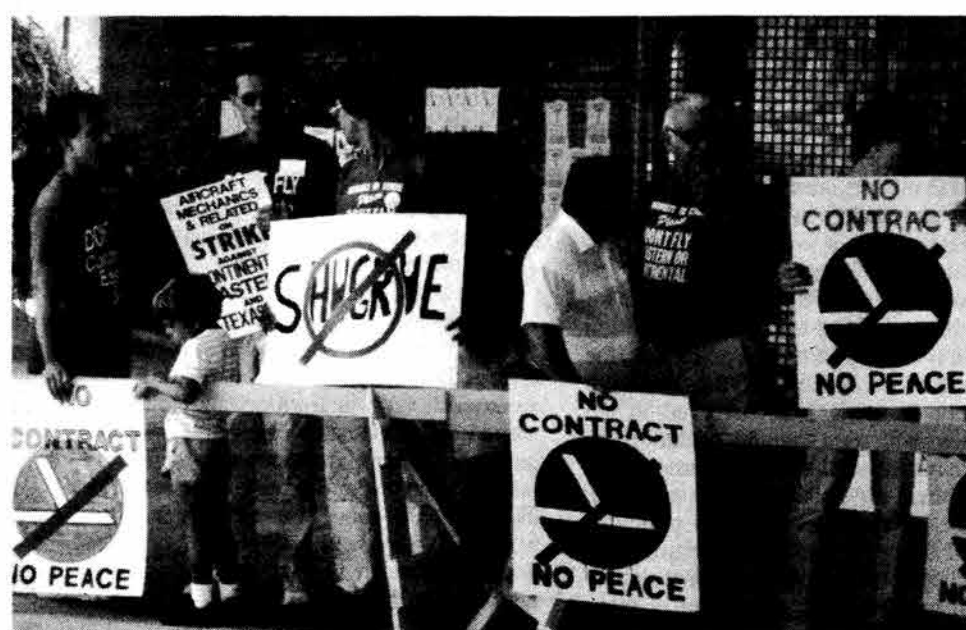
The degree to which both the government and Eastern's parent company, Continental Holdings, Inc., have been drawn into the effort to slow down the hemorrhaging at Eastern is shown in the recent decision on who would be responsible for payments to the pension fund.

In September, Eastern missed the deadline for a \$95 million payment to the pension fund agency — Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. Failure to make payment could have resulted in the agency placing liens against Eastern or Continental.

An agreement was reached between the agency and the holding company — pending approval by the bankruptcy court — that makes Continental liable for up to \$680 million in payments. A payment of \$80.5 million has already been made, and some \$500 million in collateral is backing the rest of the pension fund deficit.

The strike by the Machinists union has effectively blocked Lorenzo's original plans to successfully run a nonunion airline. Despite all efforts, the strength of the strike has prevented Eastern from getting back on its feet.

Only two options remain — liquidate the airline, with the creditors receiving only a tiny portion of what they are owed, or try to find a buyer for the carrier. Since his appointment,



Militant/Nancy Cole

Eastern strikers picket Martin Shugrue at Florida International University

Shugrue has been trying to hold the airline together long enough for a buyer to be found.

One possible buyer is Northwest Airlines, based in Minneapolis. Northwest, ranked the fourth largest airline, is attracted to Eastern's hub in Atlanta, which would increase

Northwest's route system in the Southeast where it is currently the weakest.

Talks between the two airlines have continued, and there is some speculation that one hurdle in such talks may have been crossed with the resolution of the pension fund issue.

Miners celebrate at gathering

Continued from back page

Ramaphosa spoke of South African President F.W. de Klerk's visit with George Bush that same day. "There is talk in many western capitals," he said, "that de Klerk should be rewarded for the bold steps he has taken. There are some who are even saying that since they have now agreed that apartheid was a mistake, we should reward them for saying apartheid is all but dead. Rewarding the perpetrator of a crime as against the victim of the crime sounds rather odd to us in South Africa."

Ramaphosa went on to explain his union's opposition to the lifting of sanctions and discussed recent developments in South Africa.

Delegate Nick Molnar, president of District 2 in Pennsylvania, took the floor to propose the convention send a telegram to Bush indicating outrage over his meeting with de Klerk. The idea received stormy applause and the support of Trumka.

The last day of the convention U.S. Sec-

retary of Labor Elizabeth Dole spoke. Trumka introduced her as someone who has "shown herself to be our friend."

"Labor and management relations are based on cooperation, not confrontation," Dole said. "Safety and productivity go together." Her speech received a standing ovation.

The convention adjourned as musician Tom Juravich sang coal mining songs, and delegates clasped upraised hands together to sing "Solidarity Forever." This 50th constitutional convention of the UMW reflected its members' increased fighting spirit.

Just before the convention adjourned, James Gibbs, a Pittston miner and delegate from Virginia who was attending his first convention, said, "We're more united now than ever before."

On September 26 the lobby of the Fontainebleau Hilton, where the convention was held, was filled with miners wearing red Eastern strike T-shirts as delegates prepared to return home.

Socialists hit with attacks on ballot status

Arizona, New York candidates protest narrowing of election campaign rights

BY RAY COOPER

PHOENIX, Arizona — At 9:00 a.m. Monday, October 1, Socialist Workers Party candidate Danny Booher appeared in Superior Court to face a challenge to his right to be on the ballot in November. Booher is running for state senate in the 23rd district, located in the heart of the Black and Latino community here. His only opponent is the Democratic Party incumbent, Carolyn Walker.

Booher was notified of the challenge on the previous Thursday evening by the secretary of state's office. The complaint charged that the SWP had an insufficient number of signatures on nominating petitions to have Booher's name placed on the ballot. Campaign supporters had turned in 449 signatures. The requirement is 150.

Filed by Democratic Party member Diane Bacon, the suit is being handled by Lewis and Roca, one of the largest law firms in Arizona. The firm is on retainer by the Democratic Party.

At the hearing Booher requested the suit be dismissed since he had submitted three times the necessary signatures and had fulfilled all other legal requirements. He also made a motion for a continuance.

Having received only one judicial day's notice, Booher had been unable to comply with the court order to give a written answer to the charges within two judicial days. In addition, the short notice had made it impossible to retain a lawyer.

Working-class candidate

Booher is a steelworker. Friday, the day after receiving the complaint, he worked until



Militant/Mike Shur
Socialist candidate Danny Booher

3:00 p.m. Having been granted only a few hours before the end of the business day to find a lawyer, Booher said, was a denial of his right to due process under the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Superior Court Judge John Seidel denied both motions. "You did have one day to find counsel," he said. "But you chose to go to work instead of taking that day off to find a lawyer." Seidel granted a two-hour recess to allow Booher to get a lawyer and prepare his case.

When the hearing resumed at noon, Booher was joined at the defense table by Socialist Workers candidates Karen Ray, who is running for governor, and Harvey McArthur, who is running for secretary of state. On the opposing side were two attorneys for Bacon and an attorney for the secretary of state and another for the County Board of Supervisors who are charged with printing the ballots.

David Angulo from the Maricopa County Registrar's Office took the stand, saying that 260 of the names submitted were not registered voters and 72 signatures were illegible. On cross-examination, Booher established that 25,000 newly registered voters are not on the current registration list and that their names were discounted when determining the validity of the signatures. He also proved that one of those 25,000 was campaign supporter Mike Shur, whose name did not appear on the voter rolls and who the plaintiffs charged was ineligible to circulate petitions.

Blow to democratic rights

"I am a steelworker and a trade union member," Booher said in his summary to the court. "My running mates are also working people. A ruling against my campaign would be a blow to the rights of the Socialist Workers campaign and other working-class parties to be part of the electoral process. The aim of this challenge to my candidacy is to restrict and discourage political discussion and debate."

Seidel ruled to decertify Booher as a candidate and ordered him to pay the court costs of the plaintiff.

"This ruling has a chilling effect aimed at working people who might challenge the two-party monopoly on the elections and politics," the socialist said. "I tried to exercise my right to run for office. Not only did the Democratic Party move to drive the socialist campaign off the ballot, but the court has ordered me to pay for their proceedings against our campaign."

Booher won important support for his right to be on the ballot in the days leading up to the hearing. At a press conference to protest the suit, Gerald Watson, Eastern Airlines strike coordinator of Machinists Lodge 2559, said, "Danny should be given the opportunity to run for office. Even if he is unable to win the election, a lot of political issues will be brought up. I believe Danny Booher should be on the ballot."

Perry Ealim, a leader of recent protests against the racist murder of Ric Rankin, also participated in the press conference.

Following Seidel's ruling, gubernatorial candidate Ray pledged that the socialists will "continue Danny Booher's campaign and will continue to fight this outrageous move by the Democratic Party and the courts."

BY VIVIAN SAHNER

NEW YORK — In a further assault on democratic rights, the New Alliance Party filed a suit September 27 against the New York State Board of Elections, the Socialist Workers Party, Libertarian Party, and United African Party. The SWP, Libertarians, and United African Party, like the NAP, gained ballot status for the November elections

through collecting thousands of signatures on nominating petitions.

The suit claims that the Board of Elections method of using a lottery to determine ballot slots for parties without permanent ballot status is undemocratic. The lottery placed the SWP first, the United African Party second, the NAP third, and the Libertarian Party fourth, behind the parties with permanent spots. The NAP said it is entitled to be listed first among the four parties because of the number of votes it received in 1986. A hearing is scheduled in U.S. District Court in New York on October 5.

This is the third challenge the NAP has launched in five weeks against the rights of parties seeking to participate in the New York elections. One resulted in the Unity Party being removed from the ballot. A second challenge, decided after the most recent suit was filed, disqualified the United African Party.

"The latest suit by the NAP continues its course of questioning the legitimacy of other campaigns and looking for technicalities to deny their democratic rights," commented SWP candidate for governor, Craig Gannon. The SWP has run candidates for governor of New York since 1946.

"Arguments by the NAP that it deserves a higher ballot spot because of previous election results serve only to support the view that bigger, more 'legitimate' parties deserve special rights in the election," Gannon said. "It goes hand in glove with the NAP's efforts to use any existing obstacle set up by the state to thwart efforts by working people to expand their participation in elections," he added.

The NAP also asserts that the low ballot spot for the NAP slate — which is headed by Lenora Fulani, who is Black — "has a racially discriminatory impact."

"The NAP claims to be concerned about the rights of minorities to run for office," said Gannon. "Yet it went to court to have the Unity Party slate, headed by Black political activist Jitu Weusi, and the United African Party barred from the ballot."

"Today working people increasingly find it necessary to organize and fight to defend ourselves against the onslaught of war, union-busting, racist and sexist attacks, and the slashing of our living standards," Gannon added. "We have an important stake in fighting to break down ballot restrictions. Despite all of its rhetoric about being a defender of democratic rights, all of these moves by the NAP have served to reinforce ballot restrictions and have given a handle to the state to drive parties off the ballot."

"The Socialist Workers campaign is opposed to any moves by the state to further restrict participation in the New York elections. Both the Unity Party and the United African Party should be placed on the ballot this fall."

The Socialist Workers campaign is making an emergency appeal for funds in order to be able to respond to this court challenge. Contributions can be sent to the New York SWP 1990 Campaign at 191 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10011.

Ohio socialists add their voice to protests against censorship



Militant/Val Libby

Art students from around Ohio, gay rights activists, and other supporters of artistic freedom held a September 24 protest of the censorship trial of the Cincinnati Contemporary Arts Center and its director, Dennis Barrie. Some 200 gathered outside the courthouse on the opening day of the trial. The charges are based on several photos by Robert Mapplethorpe from "The Perfect Moment" exhibit.

BY BOBBI SACK

CINCINNATI, Ohio — "The prosecution in Cincinnati of the Contemporary Arts Center (CAC) and its director, Dennis Barrie, is a dangerous attack on the right to freedom of expression and fundamental First Amendment rights," read a statement issued this week by the Ohio Socialist Workers Party candidates.

Barrie and the CAC face charges of "pandering obscenity" and the "illegal use of a minor in nudity-related material" based on seven photos that were part of the Robert Mapplethorpe retrospective shown last spring. The CAC is one of three respected public art institutions in Cincinnati.

On September 29 Martha Pettit and Ardella Blandford, SWP candidates for attorney general and state auditor, visited the CAC and spoke with the staff. "It was frightening," said a receptionist at the center, describing the events at the April 7 opening of the Mapplethorpe exhibit. "There were hundreds of people inside when the police arrived. They made us

clear everyone out. Then they videotaped the entire exhibit."

Pettit, Blandford, and several campaign supporters talked with people about this and other issues on a busy street corner. They found tremendous support for Barrie and freedom of artistic expression, and a lot of interest in socialist ideas.

Several groups of students from the University of Cincinnati took copies of the campaign statement to post up around campus. A group of Central America solidarity activists were eager to talk to the socialist candidates. A woman who had spent time in prison for harboring Salvadoran refugees bought a subscription to the *Militant*, as did an activist in a newly-formed coalition against U.S. military intervention in the Middle East. Fourteen copies of the *Militant*, one subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and several Pathfinder pamphlets were also sold.

The socialist candidates and their supporters also collected 50 signatures on a petition supporting the National Endowment for the Arts and freedom of speech.

New Zealand candidates fight for radio and television time

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — The candidates of the Communist League intend to fight their exclusion by the government from radio and TV time, said Russell Johnson, who is running for Parliament from Auckland Central. The League is running 10 candidates in New Zealand's parliamentary election scheduled for October 27.

The government has just announced a new policy granting permission for TV and radio broadcasts and funding for air time to political parties running in the general election. The bulk of the time allotted, however, will go to the ruling Labour Party and the parliamentary opposition National Party. Smaller parties receive minimal broadcast time, and parties running fewer than 10 candidates are not entitled to any free air time.

In addition, parties not officially allocated broadcast time are not allowed to make any political broadcasts, even if they are able to pay for private advertising.

A number of parties and individuals have protested the undemocratic character of this measure. Mana Motuhake — a party with substantial support among Maoris — has been denied air time on the grounds that it is only running for the four parliamentary seats elected by Maori voters. The Communist League, which qualifies on every requirement, was denied air time by the Broadcasting Standards Authority on the grounds that the application was made "too late." The agency has the discretionary power to allocate time or money despite the timeliness of an application.

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ARIZONA

Phoenix

The Fight for Native Rights in Canada. Speakers: Darlene Johnson, Mohawk from Kahnawake, Québec; Cal Seseva, Zuni tribal member; Harvey McArthur, Socialist Workers candidate for secretary of state. Sat., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

No War for Big Oil! Bring the Troops Home! Community meeting. Sat., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. First Unitarian Church, 1172 Franklin (at Geary). Donation: \$5-10. Sponsor: Emergency Committee to Stop the U.S. War in the Middle East. For more information call (415) 821-6545.

FLORIDA

Miami

Reception to meet Socialist Workers candidates. Sat., Oct. 6, 6:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Young Socialist Alliance Classes. Series on "Women: Roots of Oppression, Road to Liberation." Tues., Oct. 9 and 16 and Thurs., Oct. 18, 1 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: 50 cents per class. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Tear Down the Wall! The Struggle for Reunification of Korea. Speakers: Chuang Ho Choi, Young Koreans United; Earl Kidd, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union Local 577. Sat., Oct. 20, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018. **New Attacks on Working Farmers and the Fight to Keep Their Land.** Speakers: Harry Renkin, farm activist from Hamel, Illinois; Martin Koppel, Socialist Workers candidate for state comptroller. Sat., Oct. 27, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

IOWA

Des Moines

Socialist Cuba Today: An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: John Studer, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

The Fight for Justice for Mark Curtis. Video presentation. Speaker: Jay Ressler, supporter of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Sat., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Young Socialist Alliance Classes. "What Is the Significance of the Upheaval in Eastern Europe?" Sat., Oct. 6, 5 p.m. "Why is Cuba a Threat to the United States?" Sat., Oct. 13, 5 p.m. "How to Fight Racism." Sat., Oct. 20, 5 p.m. "The Centrality of Abortion Rights to Women's Equality." Sat., Oct. 27, 5 p.m. "The U.S. Labor Movement and the Coming Economic Crisis." Sat., Nov. 3, 5 p.m. "A Discus-

sion on the *Communist Manifesto*." Sat., Nov. 10, 5 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

East and West Germany: What is Unification All About? Speaker: Pete Brandli, Socialist Workers Campaign. Sat., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Current Challenges in the Fight for Freedom in South Africa. Speakers: Hafeni Hatutale, Midwest coordinator, South West Africa People's Organisation; Paul Olson, member Nebraskaans for Peace; Lee Olesen, Socialist Workers candidate for governor. Sat., Oct. 6, 7 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Keep the Pressure on Apartheid! Video presentation. Speakers: representative, African National Congress; Ellen Kerr, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

After the Cold War: Prospects for Socialism in the 1990s. Speaker: Don Mackle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., Oct. 13, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

The Cops, Courts, and Crime: A Socialist Perspective. Speaker: Cathy Sedwick, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress. Sat., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. Translation to French and Spanish. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (718) 398-6983.

World's Children: Victims of Capitalism. A Socialist View of the UN Summit. Sat., Oct. 13, 7:30 p.m. Translation to French and Spanish. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (718) 398-6983.

Manhattan

What Is Cause of Violence in South Africa? Road Forward in Struggle Against Apartheid. Video showing. Sat., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

Support the Reunification of Korea! Support the Hunger Strikers at the United Nations. Speakers: Seung Eun Chung, member Young Koreans United, executive member of hunger strike at United Nations; Heather Randle, national secretary Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Sat., Oct. 13, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

No Contract! No Peace! Support the Eastern Strikers. Speakers: Nancy Brown, member International Association of Machinists Local 796 on strike against Eastern in Washington, D.C.; Richard Lefteris, president IAM Local 641 on strike against Eastern; representative Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1493 on strike against Greyhound; Bill Schenk, Eastern strike activist, retired IAM Grand Lodge representa-

tive. Sun., Oct. 7, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

South Africa: New Rise in Violence Against Anti-Apartheid Movement and the ANC's Response. Speakers: Kgati Sathegwe, African National Congress; Jay Rothermel, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers candidate for state treasurer. Sat., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Translation to Spanish. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Forum. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Grand Opening Pathfinder Bookstore. Sat., Oct. 6. Reception, 4:30 p.m.; program, 6:30 p.m. Speakers: Malik Edwards, Malcolm X Day Committee; Brian Adams, D.C. Hands Off Cuba Committee; Fritz Longchamp, Washington Office on Haiti; Steve Clark, editor, Pathfinder Press; Janice Lynn, Pathfinder Bookstore. 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$5. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

World Politics Today: The Battles Ahead for Working People. Speakers: Ernie Mailhot, Eastern Airlines strike staff coordinator for International Association of Machinists Local 1018 at La Guardia Airport, co-chairperson New York State Socialist Workers Campaign; West Virginia Socialist Workers Party candidates. Sat., Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. Holiday Inn Heart-of-Town, Committee Room, 2nd floor, Washington and Broad St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: West Virginia Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (304) 345-3040 or 296-0055.

El Salvador. An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Dave Evans, representative of Medical Aid to El Salvador. Sat., Oct. 13, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay. Fri., Oct. 12, 7 p.m. 19 Terry St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: 02-692 0319.

Fiji Since the Coup. Fri., Oct. 19, 7 p.m. 19 Terry St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: 02-692 0319.

Candidates fight for media time

Continued from Page 11

The Communist League candidates and their supporters have made opposition to U.S. war moves in the Arab East and the blockade of Iraq a central focus of their campaign efforts. A statement by Brigid Rotherham, a meat-packer and one of three League candidates from Christchurch, appeared in the September 3 *Christchurch Press*. She called on the New Zealand government to end its support for the U.S. intervention and to withdraw its offer to supply two Andover aircraft to the United Nations.

At Canterbury University, Communist League candidates and their supporters in the Young Socialists spoke to two meetings on the crisis in the Middle East. Several students expressed an interest in the League's election campaign.

BRITAIN

Cardiff

Hands Off Iraq! Troops Out of the Gulf! Break the Blockade! Speaker: Jonathan Silberman, executive secretary Communist League. Sat., Oct. 6, 7 p.m. 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 0222-484677.

London

The Coming Recession. How Working People Can Fight Back. Fri., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 71-928-7947.

Manchester

South Africa. An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Rich Palser, Communist League. Fri., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield

Celebrate 60 Years of the Militant. Sat., Oct. 13, 7 p.m. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 0742-729469.

The International Fight to Defend the National Union of Mineworkers. Speakers: Representatives of NUM, Women Against Pit Closures. Fri., Oct. 19, 7 p.m. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 0742-729469.

CANADA

Halifax

Canada-Cuba Relations. Speaker: John Kirk, professor at Dalhousie University, organizer of 1989 Halifax conference on Cuba. Fri., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. Palmerston Library (just north of Bloor, 2 blks. west of Bathurst) Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Canadian-Cuban Friendship Association. For more information call (902) 323-3808.

Montréal

Defend the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain. Speaker: Cheryl Pruitt, recently returned from *Militant* reporting trip to Cape Breton, Canada, coal miners' strike. Sat., Oct. 13, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. Saint-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

How Can Equal Rights for Maoris Be Won? Speaker: Syd Jackson, Te Ahi Kaa; Mike Treen, Communist League candidate for Parliament in Manurewa. Sat., Oct. 13, 7 p.m. 157a Symonds St. Sponsor: Socialist Forum. Tel: (9) 793-075.

In addition to Johnson and Rotherham, the Communist League candidates are: Antony Drumm, a leader of the Auckland Young Socialists; Ruth Gray, national secretary of the Young Socialists; Mike Treen, an auto worker fired from the VANZ assembly plant following a recent strike; Carmen Bain, coordinator of the Wellington Young Socialists; Cecil Pirih, a member of the Dairy Food and Textile Workers Union; Janet Roth, a member of the United Food and Chemical Workers Union; Eugen Lepou, national coordinator of the Young Socialists and an activist in campaigns against restrictions on immigration from the Pacific Islands; and Kerry Moyst, a student anti-apartheid activist.

Felicity Maxwell and Joan Phillips from Christchurch contributed to this article.

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Nicaragua peasants fight over farmland

BY SETH GALINSKY

PALACAGÜINA, Nicaragua — Farm land is scarce in this dry valley north of Estelí. Poor peasants sometimes rent an acre or two as far as 30 miles away because they do not have access to land nearer to home. After the harvest is gathered, they head north to find work picking coffee.

On September 5, 100 peasants, sympathizers of the National Opposition Union (UNO), tried to take over land east of here that has been in the hands of peasants who are supporters of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). In the ensuing battle one peasant was killed.

The conflict was one of several involving poor peasants that have broken out around the country since the April 25 inauguration of President Violeta Chamorro, who ran on the UNO ticket.

Revolution's land policies

One of the motor forces of the revolutionary mobilizations that overthrew the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza in July 1979 was the desire for land on the part of the peasantry. The revolution brought to power a workers' and farmers' government, which confiscated capitalist estates owned by the Somoza family and its close allies. Much of the property was converted into state farms.

In 1980-81 growing mobilizations by landless peasants, including land occupations, pressed the government to take further measures. Despite strong resistance from landowning capitalists, the government decreed an agrarian reform law in 1981. The law provided for confiscation of idle land and its distribution to landless peasants.

The government distributed parcels to peasants in one of two forms: cooperatives, where land is worked individually, but credit and resources shared; or collective farms, where the peasants work the land collectively. The cooperatives and collectives are both referred to here as "co-ops."

Initially the government discouraged giving out land to peasants to farm individually. That policy was changed in 1984 as poor peasants continued mobilizations and occupations demanding land. Their protests led the government to increase land distribution, including to individual peasant families. The emphasis, however, remained on giving land to co-ops and collectives.

When the U.S.-backed contras were defeated in 1987, the government did not use the momentum of that victory to step up confiscations of capitalist farmers and distribute more land to poor peasants. Instead, land distribution fell sharply. Tens of thousands of peasants remained landless or with plots of land too small to maintain their families year round.

In January 1989, the government announced that no more land would be confiscated from big landowners.

Palacagüina peasants still landless

Most of the peasants near Palacagüina are among those who never received land during the revolution.

One large cattle rancher here, Alfonso Lobo, was confiscated in 1979. A member of dictator Somoza's cabinet, his property was turned into a state farm. Individual peasants were allowed to cultivate small plots there, in exchange for tending fences and carrying out other work for the farm.

Much of this farm was later given to the Bayardo Rodríguez Cooperative, a collective farm affiliated to the pro-Sandinista National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG).

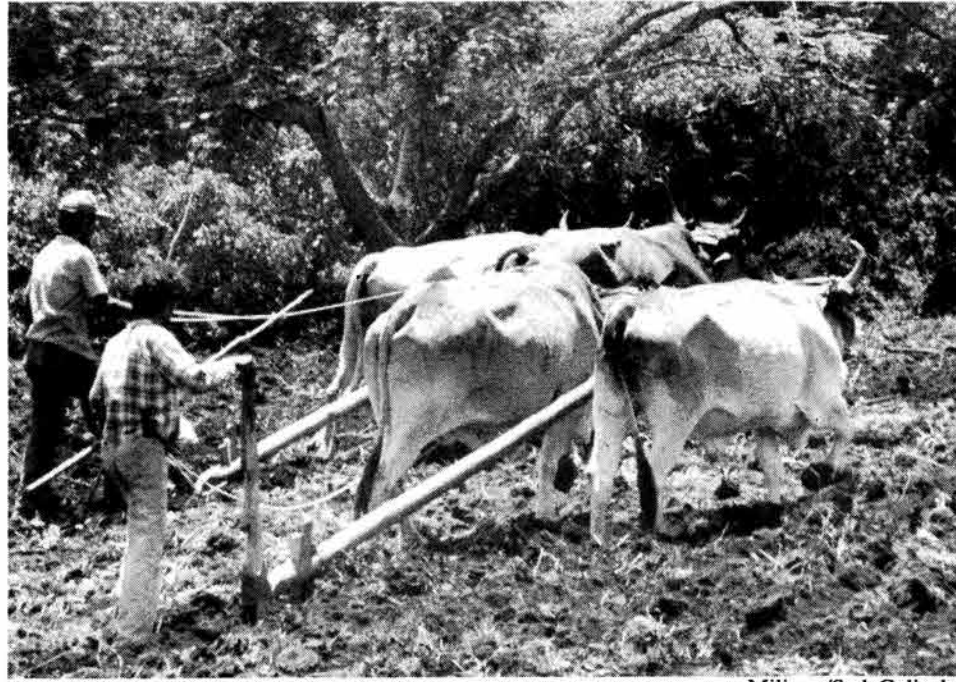
Today, peasants on the collective are better off than many of their neighbors. The 19 members get several quarts of milk each week from the hundred cows they own. The collective employs several workers to help prepare the pasture.

Unlike most other peasants in the area, who are totally dependent on the vagaries of the weather for a successful crop, the collective owns two diesel-powered water pumps for irrigation. Aid from Sweden helped build houses for collective members.

González brothers get land

Unable to work all the land productively, the collective granted 750 acres to eight brothers — the Gonzálezes — some time ago. The González brothers had worked as employees on the farm when it was state-owned.

Several other peasants worked small plots on the parcel assigned to the González brothers,



The González brothers plowing their farm near Palacagüina in September

ers, just as they had when the parcel was part of the state farm.

One of these peasants was Ricardo Gutiérrez, a member of the Federation of Trade Union Unity (CUS), a union that opposed the revolution and has close ties to the AFL-CIO trade union officialdom in the United States. The CUS has been organizing here since at least 1986. It actively backed the UNO election campaign.

After the February 25 election victory for UNO, relations between the Gonzálezes and Gutiérrez took a turn for the worse. UNO won 70 percent of the vote in this area. The FSLN won only in one community where pro-Sandinista collective farms are based.

'Break up the co-ops'

Gutiérrez was wounded during the September 5 confrontation and unavailable for an interview. Ramona Pérez, his wife, has also been an active participant in the conflict. "We don't think the land the Gonzálezes are on is theirs," she says. "We've been asking the government to give us title."

Her son adds, "They should just break up all the co-ops and give the land out in individual plots."

The Gutiérrez family says it has many grudges against the FSLN. Gutiérrez was arrested in 1987 and imprisoned for two years, accused of being a contra collaborator.

After the FSLN lost the February elections, a local leader of UNAG was given 850 acres by the outgoing Sandinista government. "The Sandinistas have taken all the land, but UNO hasn't gotten anything," Pérez claims.

Pérez explains that her husband visited the state Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA) to press his claim for the land the Gonzálezes were working.

He won support from a local INRA delegate, who gave him a document encouraging Gutiérrez and his supporters to organize and "be firm."

Paper in hand, Gutiérrez convinced other UNO supporters from the area that they now had title to part of the González farm, or at least a government commitment to back them up.

On September 5, 100 UNO sympathizers started cleaning pasture on the disputed land. Some 35 members of nearby collective farms, along with the González brothers, confronted them. Shots were fired and a hand grenade thrown. The UNO supporters fled, leaving behind one dead and four wounded.

'They didn't want co-ops'

Guadalupe Talavera, vice-president of the Bayardo Rodríguez collective farm, recognizes that most of the UNO supporters are poor peasants. "They could have gotten land during the revolution," he says, "But they didn't want to be organized in cooperatives."

"We think these people should get land," Nemesio Palanco, another collective leader, says. "But they should get it from somewhere else. Maybe the government can buy Jaime Lobo's ranch and divide it up." Lobo has a 5,000-acre property near Palacagüina.

"It's not up to us to get them land. We can't talk to them, after what happened. That's the new government's job," he adds.

Roberto Laguna, UNAG president for the region, acknowledges that his organization

often was not able to reach out to poor peasants who were not organized in cooperatives or collectives and that this is a factor in the current land disputes.

Because of UNAG's support to the military effort to defeat the contras, he adds, "Some peasants just saw us as recruiters for the army." The army, he said, often saw peasants as objects to be figured into military plans, rather than working with them politically. "This exacerbated the problems."

Laguna defends the granting of land to numerous UNAG leaders and other FSLN supporters after the Sandinista election defeat.

"Many of us dedicated the last 10 years to helping peasants, working for almost nothing. We also have the right to receive the benefits of the land reform."

One peasant who joined the attempted

Norway shipping unions win

Continued from Page 16

300 passengers turned up. One elderly couple turned back when they found out the kind of a ship it was.

The boycott against the *Black Prince* was a success. On the first couple of tours, between five and 20 passengers sailed, with a peak of around 40-60 on the weekend. The ship holds 530 passengers, and needs to be 60 percent full to break even.

The Senior Citizens National Organization in Sweden asked its members not to sail the *Black Prince*. Senior citizens were the major target for the tours.

In harbor after harbor, pickets met the *Black Prince*. It couldn't get food loaded or toilet tanks emptied. Finally the ship sailed to Rostock, East Germany. When the workers

land takeover, Nicolás Contreras, lives on the top of a hill, three miles from the nearest road.

Interviewed at his home, Contreras explains that although his two brothers are Sandinistas and members of the Bayardo Rodríguez collective, he voted for UNO.

The parcel he works with his father is not enough to feed his whole family. "And that cooperative. They won't even rent you land for a cow or two."

Contreras thinks the González parcel should be divided up. "It's more land than they can handle."

Contreras never asked for land during the revolution. "They only gave you land if you joined a co-op," he says. "You had to work with a gun in your hand, and the army was always calling the members up to serve."

"But if they would've given me my own little piece of land, I would've taken it."

Contreras is pleased that President Chamorro ended the military draft. But he is still waiting for her to deliver on other promises.

"Doña Violeta said during the election campaign she was going to give us land. But we haven't gotten anything," he says.

Eulalio Córdoba, who also participated in the takeover, gives his version of the event. "Ricardo Gutiérrez told us we were going to take some land that wasn't being used. I was fooled."

"I'm for getting land, but poor peasants shouldn't be fighting other poor peasants."

Córdoba picks coffee every year to make ends meet. But even with the extra income, his family often eats only one meal a day, sometimes less.

"My father has 17 acres and 10 sons," he notes. "When he dies, what will we all have?"

"Up until now we haven't had any hope, just that paper that Ricardo had from INRA," says Pedro Olivas, another UNO supporter. "We just want some land, any way we can get it."

But Olivas is not optimistic about their chances. "One dead body's enough," he adds.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEETLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

60 CENTS

Oct. 10, 1980

The Carter administration announced September 30 that it is sending four Air Force radar and command planes, with 300 U.S. crew members, to Saudi Arabia. The Saudi Arabian monarchy is closely allied with the Iraqi regime in its war with Iran.

With a radar range of 350 miles, they will be able to follow closely the course of the Iraqi invasion of Iran — and perhaps even allow U.S. or Saudi personnel to advise the Iraqis from a safe distance.

Washington was reported to have won agreement from the governments of Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, and Japan for a meeting to discuss sending a joint naval armada.

There is hardly any attempt to conceal that the target of this naval armada will be Iran. The September 29 *Wall Street Journal* described it as a move "to protect American interests in the Gulf from possible desperate acts by a humiliated Iran."

"We're dealing with nuts," one official said of the Iranians.

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Oct. 11, 1965

Price 10c

Everyone who is against the U.S. war in Vietnam should get out and join the demonstrations planned for the weekend of Oct. 15-16 in many cities and campuses across the country. The demonstrations are planned as part of the "International Days of Protest."

The war the U.S. is waging in Vietnam is one of atrocity and mass murder. Millions of tons of bombs, napalm fire-bombs, poison gas, chemicals, and all of the other instruments of death in the U.S. arsenal are being used against the men, women, and children of Vietnam.

It is a war to preserve a hated military regime, and to maintain U.S. domination of Vietnam in violation of the rights of its people to determine their own fate.

We must know what the government is doing. We must stand up and make our voices of protest heard, and demand that the government get U.S. troops out of Vietnam and leave Vietnam to the Vietnamese.

GM, 'Post' agreements a setback

The agreement struck by top officials of the United Auto Workers with General Motors, and a pact by 10 unions at the *New York Post*, are setbacks for workers everywhere. They point in the wrong direction for the union movement.

The watchword of both agreements has been "job security." In pursuit of job security the union officials said the interests of the workers and those of the employers are the same. They parroted the bosses, saying that if enough concessions were made "our company" or "our industry" can be made more competitive, thus translating into job security, if not for everyone, at least for a shrinking number of unionized workers.

Nothing in either agreement — at GM or the *Post* — will guarantee job security. As many workers have learned over the last decade, concessions do not save jobs — they only invite the employers to seek more concessions.

Even as the pact was being nailed down, GM announced plans to shut down more plants and shrink its hourly work force by 60,000 workers. At the *Post*, under threat by its owner that he would close down the paper, the ten unions agreed to a \$20 million package of concessions, a reduced work week, and big cuts in the work force.

The stance of the labor officialdom in these agreements is not new. The pacts follow in the pattern set by the "labor statesmen" since the beginning of World War II, when the leaderships of the unions deflected the class struggle movements that built the unions in the 1930s and began to seek ways to collaborate with the bosses in the war effort.

The results are clear. In the last decade the employers,

driven by declining profits, have intensified their war on the standard of living of working people. The gap between rich and poor has increased. At the same time, during the last 10 years there has been an increase in the number of hours workers spend on the job. The average worker in the United States put in 95 more hours of work in 1987 than in 1979. Working conditions are deteriorating and injuries on the job are on the rise, and the percentage of workers organized into unions continues to decline.

The struggle being carried out by Eastern Airline workers and its victory over union busting is a break in this pattern. Eastern workers learned after a decade of concessions that it is better to fight than to watch their standard of living and conditions of work decline. By fighting they broke Frank Lorenzo and his plans to build another non-union airline and put themselves in a better position to fight for jobs and a contract.

To move forward, the union movement must abandon the self-defeating approach of trying to carve out job security for smaller and smaller percentages of the union membership. We should fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, thus insuring jobs for all workers.

The unions must utilize real union power which ultimately rests with the millions of rank and file workers that make up the unions. They must work to recruit unorganized workers and become involved in the broader social and political struggles that affect all working people whether they are members of a union or not.

Drop charges against Mohawks

The ending of the siege at the two Mohawk communities near Montréal poses new challenges for all unionists, students, fighters for Native rights, and other supporters of democratic rights. By building on the broad support won by the Mohawks during their 11-week standoff with the Canadian army and Québec provincial police, the continued harassment, criminal prosecution, and denial of the Natives' rights can be pushed back.

An important political victory for Native people — despite the arrest of over 40 Mohawk fighters — has been scored through their courageous battle. The fight has inspired unprecedented unity among Canada's one million Native people — Indians, Métis, and Inuit — and a new determination to fight for their land claims and for political sovereignty.

Moreover, their struggle exposed the racist treatment of Native peoples by the government and employers across Canada, highlighted their just demands for land and rights, and won support among new layers of working people across Canada and around the world.

This broad support made it possible for the Mohawks to stand up to the armed might of the federal and Québec governments for almost three months. The fight deepened the crisis of Canada's ruling rich, who had failed last June to impose an undemocratic constitutional agreement, called the Meech Lake Accord, on Québécois and Native people.

A new rise of union battles by steelworkers, coal miners, and auto, paper, rail, and airline workers opposing the bosses' concession demands and union-busting efforts overlapped these developments, strengthening each in the process.

Despite the fact that the government was able to refuse negotiations, force the abandonment of the barricades, and allow racists to attack the Mohawk fighters, Canada's ruling families cannot permit the Mohawks' political gains to stand.

It hopes to push back the deepening resistance of the oppressed and exploited across Canada and the recognition by a layer of fighters that they face a common enemy. This is why the government is determined to carry out a "legal" witch-hunt against some 100 Mohawks. It's also why the rulers continue to wage a massive racist campaign against the Mohawks aimed at undercutting their support among working people and deepening existing racial divisions.

The stakes for working people in defeating these attacks are considerable. If the rights of the Mohawks can be trampled on so too can the rights of other working people faced with the stepped-up attacks by the bosses, the government, courts, and police.

The labor movement and all supporters of democratic rights in Canada and worldwide should demand that the charges against the Mohawks be dropped.

Instead, the government should arrest and prosecute all those guilty of racist attacks against the Indians, including army and police officers. It should also grant Native peoples' demands for their land and their sovereignty.

A good place to begin would be to return the Mohawks' traditional burial grounds, the allocation of which for the extension of an exclusive golf course provoked the erection of the Indians' barricades, and to withdraw the occupying army and police forces from the two Mohawk communities.

Protest ballot denial in Arizona

A sharp attack on the rights of working-class candidates has been orchestrated by the Democratic Party, the courts, and a big-business law firm in Arizona. Superior Court Judge John Seidel has ruled socialist candidate Danny Booher off the ballot and ordered him to pay court costs after his candidacy for state senate was challenged by attorneys on retainer for the Democratic Party. This ruling exposes the flagrantly undemocratic character of the state's election laws and the role of the courts as defenders of the political monopoly exercised by the parties of big business — the Democrats and Republicans.

In Arizona, as in most states, the candidates of parties other than the Democrats and Republicans must comply with undemocratic ballot laws by gathering signatures on nominating petitions and fulfilling other requirements in order to achieve ballot status. Booher, along with supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign, organized to comply with these laws in order to more effectively advance a working class alternative to Democratic Party incumbent Carolyn Walker.

Booher and the other SWP candidates in the state are outspoken in their opposition to U.S. war moves in the Arab East; they are union militants, helping to build solidarity with workers in struggle like the strikers at Eastern Airlines; they are antiracist fighters, demanding affirmative action for Blacks and Latinos and campaigning against racist attacks; and they advance the idea that working people need to organize independently of the employers and their parties.

But this is not the axis of the campaigns that the ruling parties want to run. Their legislators write laws that restrict ballot access precisely to silence voices like Booher's. Once he complied with the laws, Booher was ruled off the ballot by the court in a matter of days. Moreover, the court is demanding Booher now pay court costs in their case against him!

The court also trampled on the rights of 25,000 newly registered Arizona voters whose names have not yet been entered on the public record, refusing to count the names of any who had signed Booher's petition. And it violated Booher's constitutional right to due process of the law, ramming through the proceedings without allowing him the opportunity to get legal counsel.

The economic crisis of the capitalist system is deepening. Working people will find it increasingly necessary to organize and fight to defend ourselves against war, union-busting, and racist and sexist attacks. This includes hearing and discussing alternative political views as we find the best ways to fight back. Working people need the political elbow room in which to exercise our rights, including the opportunity to engage in civil discussion, run for office, and be on the ballot.

Every working person should protest this outrageous violation of democratic rights and demand that Booher be placed on the ballot in Arizona and that the costs of legal proceedings be borne by the challengers to his right to be there.

How the 'Militant' got its name

BY DOUG JENNESS

Several people over the past few months have asked me where the *Militant* got its name. They liked the name and said that it seemed to capture a fighting spirit better than many other names that could appear on the masthead of a socialist newspaper. But they were curious about where it came from.

There's nothing in the first issue of the paper, which appeared in November 1928, that answers this question. However, in our files I discovered an unpublished interview with the paper's first editor, James P. Cannon, that offers a clue. The interview was conducted on Oct. 24, 1973, by Harry Ring, a longtime writer and editor of the *Militant*.

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

who at that time was head of the paper's Los Angeles bureau.

Ring asked Cannon if he remembered how the name was decided on. Cannon recollected that he had suggested the name. He explained that for many radicals involved in labor struggles in the early part of this century "a militant was the designation of a real active fighter in the movement."

At that time, Cannon noted, "That was an ordinary expression: 'He's a good militant.' That's what you say about a person who's active and giving all he's got to the movement."

Before World War I Cannon had been an organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World, an organization of revolutionary workers, who fought to build "one big union" that could take political power from the capitalists. Following the October 1917 Russian revolution, led by the Bolsheviks, Cannon, like many other young rebels of the time, became convinced that a revolutionary workers' party is needed to mobilize the struggle to overturn capitalist rule. He broke from the syndicalist outlook of the IWW and helped found the Communist Party in 1919.

Cannon was a leader of the CP through the 1920s. But under pressure from the bureaucratization of the Soviet Union led by Joseph Stalin, the CP abandoned its revolutionary perspective and its uncompromising support to the struggles of working people.

A layer of CP members, including Cannon, however, remained true to their principles and kept fighting along the communist course they had begun on a decade earlier. They started publishing the *Militant* to help organize and give voice to this struggle.

The name, the *Militant*, Cannon said, was "to designate what we were." The *Militant* was then and has remained for 62 years a newspaper written, sold, and read by "active fighters" in the struggle to advance the interests of working people throughout the world.

Today, a growing number of militant activists — from the striking airline workers at Eastern to coal miners in North America and Britain — look to the *Militant* as their paper. They recognize that the paper not only tells the truth about their struggles but offers news unavailable elsewhere about fights of militants in other industries and countries.

Moreover, readers learn over time that, while we've made errors and misstatements, which we've corrected or adjusted, the *Militant* has never placed any interests above those of the working class as a whole. The paper has not collaborated with the exploiters at the expense of the exploited or traded off the interests of working people to defend the privileges or prerogatives of bureaucratic layers.

The value of the *Militant* for fighters waging battles against big businessmen and bankers goes beyond solidarity and accurate reporting of struggles. The paper also generalizes the experiences of the working class, both historically and internationally. This makes it possible to see more clearly the pitfalls and opportunities faced in the struggle and to present a perspective that can be effective in taking on the capitalist class.

Since it first emerged in the early part of the last century the modern working class has gone through many rich experiences. Workers, along with exploited peasants, have carried out revolutions that have overturned capitalist rule. We have engaged in massive strike waves and established industrial unions and mass political parties.

Working people and our organizations have also faced major blows. Our organizations have been smashed by fascist repression and were set back for a period of time.

Workers have had to confront many sorts of governments as our enemies — from capitalist parliamentary setups to Stalinist totalitarian bureaucratic regimes.

We've served as cannon fodder in imperialist wars of plunder that were totally contrary to advancing our interests and led to the slaughter of tens of millions.

Learning from these experiences, generalizing them, and on the basis of that accumulated knowledge, projecting a line of march to move forward is what communists, the most politically aware part of the working class, do. That's what the *Militant* strives to do. That's the most important contribution we have to offer working-class fighters today. Active militants, must also become politically conscious militants, who see themselves as part of the struggles of the working class as a whole.

Pamphlet helps defend British coal miners union

Response to the Lightman Inquiry, by Arthur Scargill. Published by Campaign to Defend Scargill and Heathfield, August 1990. 23 pp.

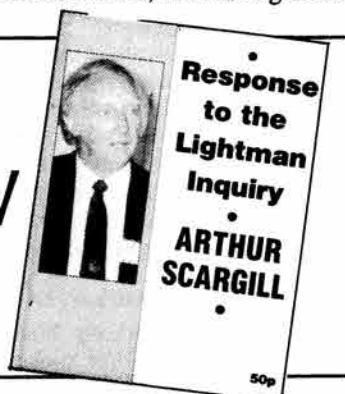
BY JAMES HARRIS

"During the past five months, Peter Heathfield and I have had to withstand the most vicious barrage of media abuse and smears in living memory. We have had to face a 'trial by media,' and the fury against us has at times become hysterical. This barrage is designed not just to attack Arthur Scargill and Peter Heathfield, but the NUM [National Union of Mineworkers] itself," says Scargill, the president of the NUM, in the pamphlet *Response to the Lightman Inquiry*.

With the publication of this pamphlet working people around the world have a valuable weapon in the fight against the frame-up of Scargill and Heathfield, the NUM general

secretary. Since March the big-business news media in Britain has churned out a tidal wave of lies and slander, demanding that the government initiate criminal proceedings against the two union leaders. As Scargill and Heathfield have cleared themselves of the charges, new ones have been manufactured, forcing them to defend themselves once again.

IN REVIEW



They were first accused of misappropriation of union funds and living lavish lifestyles with the proceeds. The report by Gavin Lightman, an attorney commissioned by the union to carry out an investigation of the charges, cleared them this initial accusation. But Lightman took the opportunity to level further accusations against Scargill and Heathfield.

Most of these "criticisms" centered around the accusation that although Scargill and Heathfield had not personally benefited from union funds, they had misused union money.

It is these charges that are answered in the pamphlet. Since the pamphlet's publication, Scargill and Heathfield have been officially charged by the British government with failure to keep proper union accounts, a criminal offense. The shifting nature of the allegations against the union leaders is clear evidence that the real intent of the British ruling class has nothing to do with seeking the truth. The persistence of the big-business media and the government in their attacks on the NUM is based on their fear of the militant combativity of the miners. The NUM is the strongest and most militant union in the country and looked to by workers not only in Britain but around the world as an example. A blow against the NUM would be important for the capitalists in Britain as they seek to carry out further attacks on the wages and living standards of miners and other workers in Britain.

The ruling class especially wishes to obliterate the legacy of the hard-fought 1984-85 national coal strike waged by the NUM. In Britain the mines are owned and operated by the government. British Coal recently announced its intention to reduce the number of mine workers by 7,500. In 1982 there were 192,000 miners. Since the 1984-85 strike more than 100 pits have been closed down, and 100,000 miners have lost their jobs. The aim of the government, Scargill has said, is to have 50 pits with 50,000 miners. The struggle against mine closings was the major issue of the 1984-85 strike.

The Lightman report criticized Scargill and Heathfield for actions they took to protect and insure the functioning of the NUM during and after the strike. Lightman found fault with the union leaders for operating a series of bank accounts between 1984 and 1989 and for not revealing the existence of the accounts. Scargill explains in the pamphlet that the separate bank accounts were established by the union during the strike when its funds were sequestered and the organization placed in receivership. Concealing the money was the only way to maintain the union and carry on the strike, he says. Any money placed in the union's account at that time would have been immediately seized by the government. These moves were taken with the full agreement of the National Executive Committee of the union, and all of the money in these accounts has been accounted for by the union.

Scargill states in the pamphlet: "The NUM Conference and National Executive Committee stood together in this very difficult period and refused to be browbeaten into submission, refused to acknowledge a court-appointed se-

questrator or receiver, and in spite of legal advice gave an instruction to national officials not to cooperate with either the sequestrator or receiver, an instruction we carried out to the letter.

"The fact that we succeeded in sustaining our union through these times should not, in my view, be a matter for condemnation, criticism, or attack. On the contrary, to succeed in sustaining the union — paying of all its debts, all trade union loans, and making a donation of £135,000 (US\$250,000) to the Miners' Solidarity Fund — deserves congratulation not criticism."

Scargill also answers the charge in the Lightman report that he and Heathfield placed money sent by the Soviet miners union to the NUM in a Miners' Trade Union International (MTUI) account. Scargill explains that these funds never reached the NUM since the Soviet miners union had made it clear they would not donate to any of the various NUM accounts.

"They would only put money into an international account under the control of the MTUI for miners anywhere in the world," said Scargill.

The pamphlet also explains the NUM stance toward the International Miners' Organisation, which has been a center of the ruling class attack on the union throughout the witch-hunt. The IMO grew out of the MTUI based on the international solidarity forged during the 1984-85 strike. Scargill and Heathfield are officers of the organization.

The tack the Lightman report takes is to claim that NUM and IMO funds were intermingled and that the IMO received funds that should have been given to the NUM. In a section of the pamphlet Scargill refutes this charge in detail and gives a brief description of IMO activities.

Scargill takes up other criticisms raised by Lightman that include not reporting a personal loan he received from the IMO and subsequently repaid and failure to keep proper records. He also replies to a charge, which is not in the Lightman report but is made in hysterical tones by the British news media, that the NUM received money from the Libyan government.

The pamphlet is essential reading for those who want to know the truth about this frame-up campaign and wish to become involved in the international defense of Scargill, Heathfield, and the NUM. The pamphlet can be ordered by contacting Women Against Pit Closures, 9 South Crescent, Dodworth, Barnsley, South Yorkshire S75 3LJ, England.

LETTERS

British miners

I have been following the articles on the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain that have been appearing in the *Militant* and wonder if you could give me their address. I am trying to obtain a copy of the NUM pamphlet entitled *Response to the Lightman Inquiry*. Do you have their address or a copy of this pamphlet? If so, please forward to the address below.

Keep up the pressure on the Mark Curtis fight. I follow his plight weekly in your paper. Stay strong and radical!

A prisoner
Mt. Pleasant, Iowa

Editor's note: A review of the pamphlet and information on how to get it are printed above.

"mercenaries for the ruling rich." Both inmates and staff should be held accountable for brutal behavior and abuse of power.

Some, in fact many, of the inmates are dangerous people; others are castaways, the product of a society that has failed to nurture, educate, and protect its youth. As for the officers, some are unfit; most work hard and treat the inmates with decency. They certainly are "workers" and do deserve the support of all working people.

I am sad that your dogma requires a one-dimensional analysis of our social structure. We don't live in a TV western with "good guys" and "bad guys."

Susan Braiman
New York, New York

Palestine

In the September 14 *Militant* the figure 200,000 is given as the number of Palestinians driven from their homes and land, out of Israeli territory. This is the number expelled from west Palestine under the Deir Yassin-precipitated exodus from the United Nations-partitioned parts of Palestine allocated by the imperialists to Eretz Israel.

But, since the article is talking about the situation when the state of Israel was proclaimed in 1948, the number is actually between 725,000 and a million Arabs driven into exile.

Denis Hoppe
Detroit, Michigan

How could you?

The statement by two New York Socialist Workers Party candidates printed in the September 14 *Militant* is a morbid piece of fanaticism. There is no doubt the three defendants raped the so-called New York jogger, as well as robbed and assaulted two male runners.

"The cops," the SWPers claim,



Mike Peters

Rikers Island

I would like to correct some inaccuracies and challenge your analysis in the August 31 editorial on Rikers Island.

The blockade on the bridge took place on August 13 and 14, not on August 5 as reported. Medical personnel, city negotiators, and other ancillary staff had full access to and from the island by means of a police launch from La Guardia Airport.

The blockade was precipitated by a recent incident in which a corrections officer was robbed and seriously assaulted by three inmates. They were not charged as they should have been with a felony. It was they who received a "slap on the wrist."

There is a complex interplay of factors at Rikers Island, which result in the brutalization of both inmates and officers on a daily basis. The inmates cannot, as a group, be described as defenseless workers or poor citizens who are threatened and punished for "striking" and "asserting their rights." Nor can we classify the corrections officers as a group of

"followed their standard operating procedure. They rounded up the usual suspects — young Black and Latino men who had been in the park that night." Is it "standard operating procedure" in a city with a Black mayor and a Black police commissioner to round up innocent Blacks and Latinos? Or for a jury with four Blacks and three Latinos to go along with a racist frame-up?

You claim the youths' confessions were illegal: "a minor cannot be questioned except in the presence of a parent or guardian." Antron McCray's parents were present for his entire questioning. His confession was videotaped. Yusef Salaam was convicted by his own testimony. He admitted he had a 12-inch pipe when he entered the park with 50 others. But, hey, he was only holding it for a friend.

How can your candidates look the public in the eye and say it is "immaterial" if they are guilty? How can they hint that it is now too late for the cops to find evidence convicting the real culprits? Who do

they think did it — 50 white capitalists?

Lenni Brenner
New York, New York

South Africa

The continuing violence in South Africa was the topic of a Militant Labor Forum in Baltimore recently. African National Congress representative Madoda Hlatshwayo addressed the issue of so-called Black-on-Black violence.

The violence, he said, only serves the interests of those who want to see the negotiations between the ANC and the government fail. Any ethnic problems are being deliberately exacerbated by the apartheid government. The ANC was founded in 1912, based on the proposition that all Africans need to unite.

The violence is perpetrated and encouraged by the various South African police agencies, Hlatshwayo said. South African President F.W. de Klerk "can't or won't control these forces," he said. "And

despite the agreement of the ANC to suspend the armed struggle to move the negotiations forward, the government has done little to stop the violence."

Hlatshwayo's message to anti-apartheid activists was to "keep the pressure on" the apartheid government through maintaining sanctions. Edwin Fruit
Baltimore, Maryland

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Coal miners celebrate 100 years of union's struggles at gathering

BY DAN FEIN

MIAMI BEACH, Florida — From September 17-25 the United Mine Workers of America held its first convention since joining the AFL-CIO last year. The 1,170 delegates in attendance celebrated 100 years of the miners union, inspired by their recent victory over Pittston Coal Group.

There are currently about 80,000 working and laid-off members of the UMWA. Approximately 130,000 retired miners, widows, and disabled miners receive pension and health benefits from contracts at union-organized mines.

On September 16, striking Eastern workers from International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 702 greeted the UMWA delegates as they arrived at the Miami International Airport. A leaflet handed out to the miners read, "During the Pittston strike we were honored to have UMWA brothers visit us in Miami, and some of our members were able to travel to Camp Solidarity."

The strike against Pittston Coal in Virginia, Kentucky, and West Virginia lasted 11 months — from April 1989 until victory in February 1990. The strike against Eastern Airlines — now in its 19th month — overlapped with the Pittston strike and strong bonds were built as the strikers marched and picketed together in many coal towns and airports.

The convention reflected the pride and increased confidence of many mine workers following the Pittston victory. Virtually all the delegates participated in some form of strike support activity. Donnie Samms, president of UMWA District 15 from Denver, Colorado, reported to the convention that UMWA members from the Decker and Big Horn mines in Wyoming and Montana drove nonstop for 36 hours to participate in the Pittston strike.

Outside the meeting hall a half dozen videos and slide shows recounted the four-day occupation of the Moss No. 3 coal preparation plant, the massive sit-downs, and other actions during the strike.

Union faces fines

John Banovic, international secretary-treasurer of the UMWA, addressed the convention. He denounced the \$52 million fine imposed by the Virginia courts against the union during the Pittston strike. "What was the crime?" he asked. "For sitting in the road, for sitting on the courthouse steps, for wanting nothing more than safe working conditions, a decent wage, health insurance, and a pension in our old age."

Banovic also argued that the interest income on the union's selective strike fund should be used for collective bargaining, instead of going back into the strike fund. This proposal was later passed by the convention.

During the first half of the convention, 2,300 UMWA members from District 26 in Nova Scotia were on strike against the Cape Breton Development Corporation. A collection on the convention floor was taken for their strike as well as 15 other ongoing UMWA strikes and the Eastern and Greyhound strikes.

The biggest debate at the convention centered on the proposal from the Constitution and Grievances Committee to raise retired and disabled members' dues from \$1.25 per month to \$6 per month.

Darryl Dewberry, from District 20 in Alabama and chairman of the committee, argued, "The current level of their dues has not been increased for several conventions and does not take into account the desire of these members to contribute to the union in a more meaningful way."

Delegates arguing against the change in the dues structure explained that many of those on a fixed income simply cannot afford a dues increase. Hubert Lowe, from Local



Delegates listen to report during United Mine Workers convention in Miami

Militant/Dan Fein

5958 in southern West Virginia, said, "We've got lots of pensioners. People living up in these hollows back where I live that can't afford to pay \$72 a year. They put their time in. Let's take care of them. They don't have to take care of us. We're working."

UMWA President Richard Trumka, who chaired most sessions of the convention, explained that the president had the authority to grant dispensation of dues, and that those in need would be granted dispensation.

The vote on the proposal was 557 for and 464 against.

Delegates also voted to give the International Executive Board the power to merge, dissolve, or change boundaries of districts. Up until this convention, only the international convention or the members of the district involved could merge or dissolve districts.

Trumka's speech to the convention centered on the union's history, the victory at Pittston, and politicians with "50 haircuts and 50 cent smiles." Delegates enthusiastically responded to his talk.

"What won at Pittston?" he asked. "Most of all it's that we unionists have to come out of our shell, this self-imposed exile that's made us an island on the land. That we have

to get out and start organizing again like we did at South East Coal Company, when this union won the right to represent 741 workers in the biggest single victory we've had in a generation."

The UMWA membership, like that of most other industrial unions, is declining. A smaller and smaller percentage of coal mined in the United States is produced by union miners. Robert Love from District 28 in Virginia said in an interview, "We've got nonunion mines opening right in the heart of the UMWA."

The Organizing Committee report, adopted later in the convention, identified three areas in which to organize miners: eastern Kentucky, where some 25,000 nonunion miners produce 97 million tons of coal per year; central Pennsylvania, where some 5,000 nonunion miners produce 26 million tons per year; and the Powder River Basin in Wyoming, where 2,000 nonunion miners produce 115 million tons per year.

A merger of the UMWA and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) has been discussed for the past several years. Trumka reiterated his continued support for the merger. He also emphasized the UMWA

officials' electoral perspectives.

He urged the unions not to support any candidates in the Democratic or Republican parties who do not support legislation outlawing the hiring of permanent replacement workers during a strike, establishing a national health plan for all U.S. citizens, and repealing right-to-work laws.

Oil worker, IAM officials speak

Anthony Mazzocchi, secretary-treasurer of OCAW, spoke to the gathering and advocated building a labor party.

Democratic Party politicians Sen. Jay Rockefeller from West Virginia and Jesse Jackson, a candidate for U.S. Senator from Washington, D.C., also gave major speeches and were enthusiastically received. Jackson was made an associate member of the UMWA.

The guest speaker for the convention banquet was George Kourpias, international president of the IAM, who was introduced by Trumka as "the man whose union ousted Frank Lorenzo." Lorenzo is the former head of Eastern Airlines.

"We'll remain out on strike until all the scabs are out and our members are in," Kourpias said. "The strikes at Eastern, Pittston, and Greyhound have brought labor together."

A table staffed by striking Eastern workers from Miami was constantly busy. They sold a red strike support T-shirt which is banned inside the Miami International Airport.

Delegate Ed Yankovitch from Pennsylvania urged all delegates to buy a T-shirt and to wear it through the airport when leaving Miami. The Eastern strikers sold all of the 400 T-shirts they brought to the convention.

September 23 was "International Day," with union leaders from Australia, South Africa, Sweden, Germany, and Belgium on the stage.

South Africa miners

Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa, thanked the UMWA for its solidarity work against apartheid and said, "As you charge ahead to confront the future, we as South African miners want to assure you that you shall not walk alone. We will walk with you."

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Unions win at Norway shipping line

BY BARBRO DAVIDSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — The union movement in Scandinavia won a major victory last month when Fred Olsen Lines, one of the largest shipping companies in Norway, declared it is taking its ship, the *Black Prince*, out of service in Scandinavia.

The decision came after a fight launched by the Danish Restaurant and Brewery Workers Union (BRF) and supported by 12 other Scandinavian unions against the shipping company's treatment of Filipino workers on a Norwegian ship.

The hourly wage for Filipino workers on board is \$1.20 an hour, including overtime and holiday pay. Filipinos work 10 hours a day, seven days a week for at least 10 months. After 10 months, if still employed, they get free tickets home. No job security or social security exists.

According to Philippine law, the major part of the wages must be sent straight to the Philippines, leaving 15 cents an hour to live on. A Filipino worker costs the company \$670 a month. A Scandinavian worker costs \$5,000.

In the 1970s the Scandinavian shipping industry went through a crisis. Profits were low and competition stiff. To cut costs the

shipping companies started using a convenience flag on their ships. This policy led to a cut in wages in international shipping of 30 percent during the last 10 years. Some 150,000 sailors from Europe and other ship workers lost their jobs, most of them replaced by workers from Asia.

Safety regulations in the international registers, like the Nordic International Register, are much less rigorous for the shipping companies. The lower safety standards led to an accident in early summer in which 157 people died in a fire aboard a Norwegian ship, the *Scandinavian Star*. It was sailing under the Bahamian flag with a mainly Portuguese and Filipino crew.

In the past the Norwegian shipping owners managed to get the Norwegian Sailor's Union to sign an agreement allowing them to contract out work to firms hiring lower paid Portuguese workers. This opened the door to contracting out work on other Norwegian ships.

Profits of ship owners

Today shipping is a very profitable business. The order books are full, and all shipbuilding and repair industries run at full ca-

capacity. The Norwegian shippers pay a total of 1 percent in taxes. Had they paid 25 percent, the taxes collected would have covered the total amount paid in all of Norway today.

In April Fred Olsen Lines declared it was going to put the *Black Prince* in service between Copenhagen, Denmark, and Gothenburg, Sweden. The ship was to sail under an international flag with a 70 percent Filipino crew.

The BRF immediately demanded a Danish contract for all catering and cleaning workers on board the *Black Prince*, and that no Filipino workers would lose their jobs in the process. When the union didn't get any response from the company, it turned to the labor movement in the Nordic countries for support.

A boycott against the *Black Prince* was organized in Denmark and Sweden, but not backed by the Norwegian union.

On June 6, the day of the inaugural cruise, 600 workers and supporters turned out at the pier in Gothenburg to protest the ship's conditions.

Fred Olsen Lines had given away 450 free tickets for the cruise, and conducted a large advertising campaign. Nevertheless, only

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